

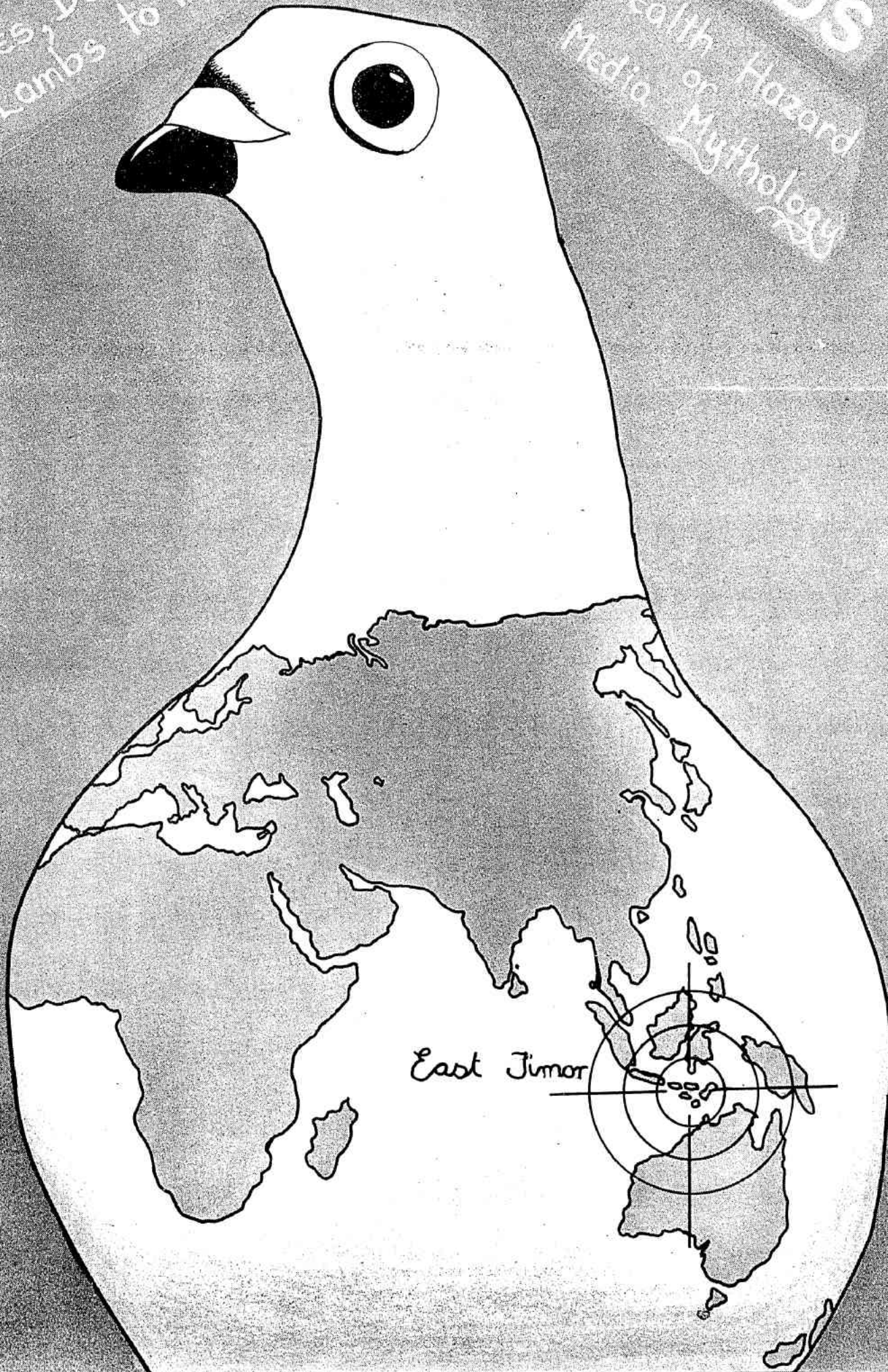
WORONI 7

EAST TIMOR

Hawkes, Doves and Icoyng
Lambs to the slaughter

AIDS

Health or Hazard
Media Mythology



East Timor

Editorial

Well this is the last 'Woroni' for first semester. It marks the onset of winter—exam-time-blues. Why the university insists on imposing these unnecessary traumas on us I'll never know.

Despite heavy academic workloads most of us are facing, there are current issues under discussion which require everybody's attention.

The Constitution Review Committee has been meeting to determine the form of the Student Representative Council which, in accordance with a referendum held last year, will replace the Students' Association.

This doesn't have to mean that general meetings of students would be powerless in future. The question of how much power each student body should have is still to be determined.

What has the committee decided so far?

1. That General Meetings shall have supreme power over the affairs of the Association. This means that a decision of the SRC can be overturned by a General Meeting. Constraints on General Meetings will be aims and objects of the Association and matters that have been referred to a referendum.



The above was agreed to without determining the quorum for General Meetings, however, this will be dealt with at a later stage. Some members of the Committee only agreed to the above on the understanding that the current quorum of 50 for a general meeting was increased.

2. The SRC shall be a part of the decision-making processes of the Association and shall not, as it is on other campuses, a body with status in its own right, i.e. it gains its status because of the powers and responsibilities that are conferred upon it by the Association.

3. Only a General Meeting shall have the power to pass policy for the Association, but both the SRC and general meetings may initiate policy (i.e. policy may be initiated by the SRC through a recommendation to a General Meeting, and, at General Meetings policy matters may be raised which have not been the subject of a recommendation of the SRC).

4. The SRC shall have the power to: manage the property of the Association; authorise the publication of printed matter; manage staff matters, but not create new positions; permit investment of the Association's funds through directions of the Trustees.

Still to be decided are a number of important issues. The referendum states that there must be 21 people on the SRC. But how should these people be chosen?

— Do we want Faculty based electorates.

— What positions do we want — we might consider having an Education Officer, a Women's Officer, an Overseas Students' Representative.

— We would also have a publicity officer

— How should 'Woroni' editors be chosen — should they have a vote on the SRC?

— What sort of committee structure would be most efficient?

— How much power should the president have?

These and many other questions are now being discussed. Obviously, we want to have a form of organisation which combines efficiency with democratic principles. However, it is not always clear how this should be done.

For the "general" positions on the SRC, we could just elect a number of people who would then receive 'portfolios' chosen by the SRC committee, or we could directly elect each officer (that is, a campus-wide election for welfare officer, for example). I believe the latter is more democratic in that it maximises the participation of the student body in decision-making and makes officers more accountable (they would have to have more specific election platforms).

All these and many other matters should be discussed all over campus, not just in committee meetings.

Your Left representatives on the Constitution Review Committee are Jeffrey Dalton, Jane Connors, Matthew Storey, George Morgan and Katrina Edwards.

They would welcome hearing any suggestions you have, or a chance to discuss progress with you. Messages can be left in the Students' Association Office.

Helen Campbell

DEADLINE FOR NEXT ISSUE : 7 JULY.

NOTICE

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ANU UNION

will be held on

WEDNESDAY 15th JUNE 1983 at 1pm

IN THE MEETINGS ROOM

*and introducing
Pip Warren
Howard Glenn
Phillip Kellow
Francis Lowe
& Janet
+ Ian*

Editors: George Morgan

Helen Campbell

Layout Assistance:

Susan Carcary

Basil Schur

Leo Lazauskas

Kimmo

Harriet Grahame

Greg Myers

Emma Grahame

Peter Taylor

Marcus Kelson.

Graphics: Leo Lazauskas

Stuart Bullock

Cover: Leo Lazauskas

I hereby open nominations for the positions of—
1. Bushweek Director and
2. Editor of the Bushweek Rag

Nominations close 5pm Friday June 17th

Each position can be filled either by an individual or a collective.

Bill Redpath

dance away the exam blues

END of SEMESTER RAGING

thurs 16th MOVIE MARATHON

fri 17th

P · E · L M · E · L

gadflies

in the Refectory 8pm \$3 union members

President's Report

1. The Library Committee

Following the review of the library, the Library Committee has been restructured and the Students' Association has persuaded the administration to increase student representation on the committee. In the future there will be two reps, one of whom will be a part-time student.

Work needs to continue to improve student input into the operations of the library.

2. The Cottage

The third 'future of the Cottage' meeting will happen early next semester. Stay tuned for details in the next 'Woroni'!

3. Sexual Harassment

The Counselling and Health Services have established a working party of various groups to draw up procedures to deal with sexual harassment complaints. The Students' Association is actively involved and the discussions are encouraging. It is envisaged that there will be a telephone complaints line to deal with complaints in a confidential way. The matter would then be dealt with by a committee, the object being to counsel the offenders and not the victims.

Details need to be worked out for procedures to deal with habitual offenders, serious incidents etc. There will be public meetings about sexual harassment grievance procedures next semester.

4. Resources Committee

This committee advised the Vice-Chancellor on staffing resources for the undergraduate area of the university. Currently the committee is looking at 1984 staffing levels. In my opinion 1984 will be pretty desperate unless a more equitable distribution of resources occurs between the Institute (Research Schools) and the Faculties. In the interim I would be interested in hearing about the staffing problems from students in Physics, Human Sciences, Computer Science, German, History, Linguistics, Women's Studies, Accounting and Slavonic Languages.

5. Slavonic Languages

It looks like the ANU and CCAE have come to an arrangement where the ANU will teach Slavonic languages. This is important in providing certainty to the department and the continuity of a valuable area of research - Slavonic Studies.

6. Political Economy

Tapes of the lectures in the Seminar series are now available in the Chifley Library under "Political Economy". Students should start to think about the need for, say, a Political Economy major so that students are exposed to a rigorous examination of a variety of economic theories rather than the fanatically partisan free-market approach of the existing major.



VINEGAR HILL

This week's vinegar hill is a little different. This week we are to investigate the pleasant art of ordinary fishing.

"Ah!" I hear you all say "I know about that: Well this type of fishing is not for the pro but more the ordinary people like me and brucette.

So to the actual formula.

First one catches a fly, mossie, or insect in general. Then remove one wing. Next find a nice log or timber in the shape of a baseball bat. You are now getting close to the art of ordinary fishing.

Now find your stream and look for fish. This part may be dodgy because fish aren't stupid all the time although you may begin to believe that they are by the time you finish this.

Next you stand in the creek, having made sure that you haven't lost your insect, hold the timber above your head and drop the insect on the pond and wait.

Now comes the bruce bit. Fish just can't resist a disabled insect. So you wait keeping a sharp eye on the insect, and not moving yourself. When the fish swims around the insect it will turn on itself and grab it. Now it's your turn WHAM! You hit the fish on the head with the timber and while it is dazed (if not dead) you grab it. If you miss you feed the fish instead of it feeding you.

So there it is, anyone can do it. Good luck and good fishing

Bruce.

Bill Redpath

7. Indian Students' Association Cultural Night.

I would like to congratulate the Indian Students Association for its initiative and enthusiasm in running a cultural night. The evening was a great success with over 200 people in attendance. Other clubs and societies should consider such activities.

Letter

Dear Editors,

I seek your and your readers' indulgence in taking some space to reply to the three letters in the last edition concerning my President's Report for last year. It doesn't take a higher degree to see that they were a co-ordinated effort, and it was reassuring to see that the best they could come up with by way of criticism of the Report was an evasive blend of half-truth and untruth.

Rohan Greenland asserts in his letter that I was never declared elected President. Rohan is thinking wishfully. On the evening concerned I declared the SA meeting quorate after a count was held, and no-one present moved dissent. No legal proceedings challenging the validity of the meeting were ever suggested. Immediately thereafter the University recognised me as President and accorded me a seat on the University Council. If Rohan's contention is correct, it would also mean that the Students' Association currently has no President, Treasurer, AUS Secretary, Trustee or 'Woroni' editors, as all these positions for 1983 were declared on the same evening. (I notice that Rohan addressed you as 'Dear Editors'.)

Ian Rout splits hairs in his correspondence. He says that he and Warren Swain resigned not because of the way the Anderson legal challenge was terminated, but because of "the state of the Association". If Ian believes his actions have been mis interpreted, he has only himself to blame: at no time did either he or Warren provide me, as head of the Association, with any reason for the resignations. Ian admits that "events associated with the question of the SA



Presidency" featured highly among his reasons for resigning. If he reads my report carefully, he will see that is exactly what I am saying. The point he makes in his last paragraph (whatever it is) is deliberately obscure and therefore cowardly.

I'm pleased that Warren Swain has at last said in print that which he has had insufficient courage to say to my face. He says "Firstly (sic) I dispute that I ever shared a platform with the Liberals," but then proceeds to outline that part of the "DRS" platform which was identified to the Liberal platform! The holding of AUS/SRC referenda was an election issue because we, the Liberals, had made it one as long ago as October 1980. Independents ever since - including Anderson in 1981 and the DRS in 1982 - have adopted it with varying degrees of acknowledgement to the source. But

when the crunch came, it was the Liberals not the Independents, who were left to deliver the goods. Warren says that he and Sue Drakeford put their names to the official SRC case as their contribution to the campaign. Big deal. He neglects to mention that (a) I (a Liberal) wrote the official SRC case (b) both Independents had to be persuaded to put their names to the document (their reluctance was only overcome by me reminding them of our mutual election promise) (c) Ian Rout's assuming of the Assistant Returning Officer's post was a cop-out to avoid committing himself publicly to the SRC while the outcome of the referendum was uncertain and (d) putting their names to the SRC was their sole contribution to the SRC campaign. With regard to the last point, both persons were asked to collect names on the petition to hold the referendum. Sue "lost" her petition and collected no names. Warren collected a handful and then gave it to a friend in Burgmann to finish. I find it incredible that in the one breath Warren tells how he distanced himself from the pro-SRC campaign and in the next complains about the Liberals almost miscarrying that same campaign! The Independents were invited to attend meetings to establish a broad-based SRC campaign team. None attended. In the end it was the Liberals who collected the lion's share of the petition names. It was the Liberals who prepared the pro-SRC literature and the SRC posters. It was the Liberals - Gibson, Walker, King, Barker, Corke and Munn, to mention a few - who advocated the SRC case in public meetings. It was the Liberals who door-dropped the campus. And, I believe, it is therefore the Liberals and only they, who can take credit for the result.

Yours sincerely,

Gary Humphries
SA President, 1982.

Political Science I (Revision)

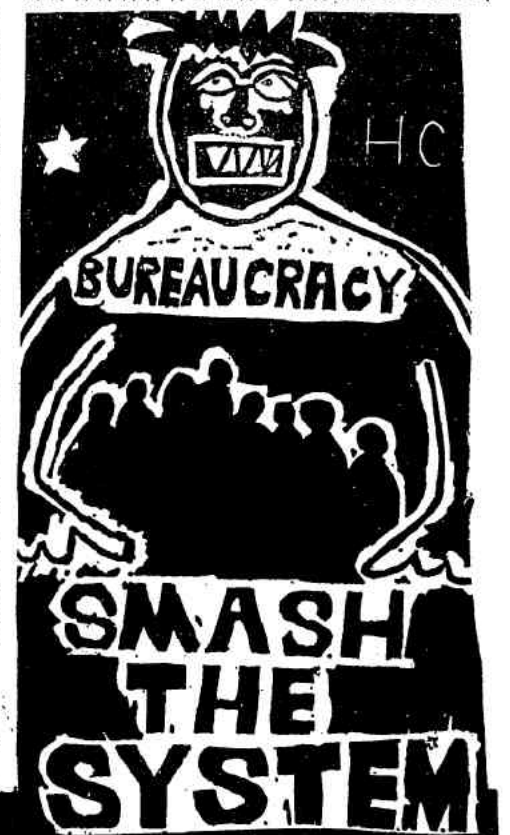
ANSWERS:

ACROSS:

1. Republicanism, 9. Early, 10. Oppress, 13. Trial, 14. Use, 15. Peru, 16. Coup 17. Imperialist, 18. Asian, 19. Work, 21. Crown, 22. IRA, 23. Free, 24. MX, 25. Marx, 26. CI, 28. Runningdog, 29. TEAS.

DOWN:

1. Revolution, 2. People, 3. Li 4. Che, 5. Nyer 6. My lai 8. Desperado, 11. Class, 12. Outlaw, 13. Trotsky, 16. Csar 20. Caucus, 23. Fear 24. MX, 27. Pot.



LETTERS

Dear Editors,

I feel I must write to you once again in order to report the progress made by the Constitutional Review Committee of the Students' Association. This Committee was set up to prepare a new constitution in line with the proposal for a Students' Representative Council passed by students at the referendum last year.

It is perhaps ironic that of the seven members of the Committee, Matthew Storey, George Morgan, Katrina Edwards, Jane Connors and Bill Redpath (all members of the Left) campaigned very strongly against an SRC during the referendum. Only the Liberals, Karen Gibson and myself, favoured an SRC. But this would not have worried me greatly had the Left members been prepared to put aside their prejudices against representative democracy and do the job of implementing the SRC proposal. Unfortunately, it now appears that the Left is not going to do this.

With regard to the decision-making roles to be played by the SRC and General Meetings the referendum question contains two statements: the SRC "will be the chief decision making body of the Association" and "the Association shall continue to meet in General Meeting once per term, and its decisions on matters of policy shall be supreme and binding on the SRC". These statements accurately describe the constitutions of most other SRC type student organizations, resolutions of General Meetings are binding on the SRC type body and over-ride SRC resolutions but subject to these constraints, the SRC can make decisions for the organization on any matter and in fact makes most decisions, the SRC is the chief decision making body. In this regard the referendum question is perfectly clear.

At the last meeting of the Constitutional Review Committee, however, the following was resolved:

"That General Meetings only have the power to pass policy but both General Meetings and the SRC may initiate policy, [the SRC] by way of recommendation."

Matthew Storey and I voted against the motion while Karen Gibson and Katrina Edwards were absent. Storey voted against the motion because he did not even want the SRC to be able to make recommendations to General Meetings.

On all matters of policy the SRC will only be able to make recommendations, and to quote Jeffrey Dalton from the discussion preceding the vote, "Anything can be a question of policy".

The SRC will have some powers over administrative matters subject to resolutions of General Meetings. It will have power over leasing premises, managing SA property, authorizing publications, filling some positions (for example, Administrative Secretary), investment of SA funds with banks and granting affiliation to clubs and societies. It will also be able to take some other actions to "give effect to the objects of the Association". Even if the SRC is given some extra powers over administration, it will in no sense be the "chief decision-making body of the Association"; the chief decision making body will remain the General Meeting.

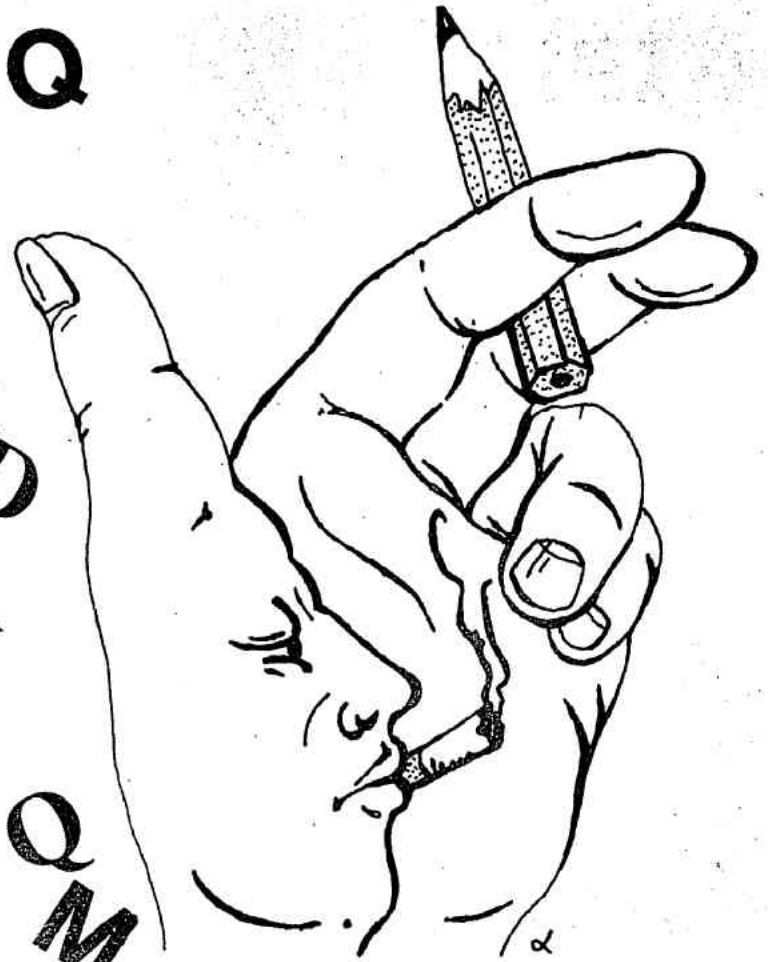
In trying to justify reducing the SRC to little more than a post box (as things stand at the moment, it will not even have the power to approve the purchase of extra post stamps) the Left members of the Committee claimed ambiguity and contradictions in the words of the proposal, but the meaning of the statements about the extent of SRC power I have quoted above seem quite clear.

I cannot but feel that the Left has betrayed students by failing to give effect to the desires of students as expressed by the referendum.

I have discussed the situation with Karen and we will be pushing for greater powers for the SRC and will probably produce a minority report. We will propose amendments to the new constitution when it is presented to an SA General Meeting for adoption.

Yours sincerely,

Glenn Phillips



Dear Editors,

I wish to reply to some of the points made by Glen Phillips (Liberal Society) about the proceedings of the Students' Association's Constitution Review Committee.

The task of this Committee is an onerous one. Its terms of reference are basically the referendum question put to students last year about instituting an SRC. Our efforts are not helped by an ambiguously worded question. Glen's point is that the SRC should have the power to make policy for the Students' Association because, he argues, it must be the chief decision-making body. He forgets that any attempt to reconcile the powers of such a 'chief' body with a further 'supreme' body on matters of policy (which he also accepts) is a nightmare. The only guide in this situation is common sense.

He wants two bodies to be able to pass policy for the Association. Any intelligent reader will know that this is an open invitation for conflict and the undesirable debilitating consequences that will follow. When you can avoid establishing structures that will simply not work (and having two bodies with identical powers in policy formulation is such a case) then it seems sensible to me to give the power to the 'supreme' body (i.e. General Meetings - Glenn accepts that they should be supreme).

I hope that I have clarified my views. I am sorry to have to repeat what I said at our last Committee Meeting.

Finally, I am concerned that the Liberal Society wishes its involvement in the Committee to be only of the basis of: accept our proposals or be damned. If this is the case then I fail to see the need for the Committee. It's not much use spending days in meetings on an important matter like this when disaffected members intend to ignore the Committee's recommendations. I have consistently worked for the co-operation of all sides in this matter. I must have been under the misapprehension that it was worth seeking such an aim. Still, maybe the next meeting will restore my faith.

Yours ever,

Jeffrey

Dear Editors,

I'm writing to inform everyone about the Students' Association's habit of paying out money for so-called meetings which in fact are only private parties. One very good example is a club on campus called the Australian Democrats. The club organised by several members of Burton and Garran Hall (one a resident tutor at the hall, another a senior member of the Liberal Party on campus) are held on an irregular basis in the Burton and Garran Hall Senior Common Room and receive subsidies from the Students' Association. Notification of the "meetings" appear on some noticeboards the day after the "meeting". Attendance at the meeting/party is by invitation only. I consider this a misuse of SA funds and request an inquiry into the affair. I also suggest that the SA policy of funding meetings of so-called public organisations on campus be reviewed to include some way of making officials of the organisations involved allow the general public to attend. I wonder if all the political parties on campus run their meetings in similar manners.

Stop wasting our money,

"a real Australian Democrat"



P D Q k e A N E Mi Z V S Y U Q W O K A E W C W I K E I S U T N E H B H D X 7

DO B A E K G E R U I S T E V U Z X G N U T

letters

Dear people,

The last Woroni carried an article entitled "Subversive Ecology" by Basil Schur. The environmental desecration which prompted Basil to write this piece is an important fact of life for all of us, important enough to warrant an examination of the many serious problems and contradictions of Basil's argument (despite Basil's flippancy).

Basil is correct in identifying an anthropocentric ignorance as the root cause of the havoc that Europeans have wrought on this continent in the last two hundred years. He advocates instead a biocentric consciousness, which he doesn't define but which he possesses by implication, and would visit upon the rest of us through direct action he terms "alternative biological control". I would suggest that most readers would have found some sort of common ground with Basil in his notion of biocentricity, as an implied opposite or alternative to anthropocentricity, including therefore notions of love and knowledge of environmental communities in place of ignorance, fear and destruction. Equally I am sure most readers would find Basil's "alternative biological control" tainted with the lack of biocentricity he laments in others. For the benefit of those not fortunate enough to read Basil's article, "alternative biological control" consists of the introduction of pests and diseases, "those species most feared by customs officials", in order to seriously disrupt agricultural production, which Basil hopes would have "considerable impact and hence sociocultural impact", jolting society from its wicked ways and allowing a return to "natural regenerative processes" in the barren sheep paddocks and wheatfields.

Despite Basil's enthusiasm, "there are many examples of successful biological control", the problems with his proposal are immediately obvious. There

are, of course, examples of unsuccessful biological control (ever heard of cane toads, Basil?) despite the testing that normally precedes the release of a control species. In order to eradicate exotic livestock or vegetation, Basil would self-righteously introduce yet another exotic species into what he terms the "considerably fractured . . . landscape", without any real idea of what would happen next. Perhaps he feels that the motive behind the introduction will ensure the immunity of native flora and fauna. It all appeals to Basil as a "short term plan", revealing a sense of time that echoes rather suspiciously the environmentally obtrusive sense of time inherent in the actions of my (and perhaps Basil's) forebears, who acted upon a land that they hadn't got to know.

Aside from the environmental problems of Basil's proposal, I think that his faith in the educative results of the destruction of agriculture in Australia needs some examination. The immediate result of a really devastating disruption in the rural sector would be similar to the effects of the recent drought, magnified several times. Despite the insular assumptions people may be tempted to make, it is not the wealthy graziers that were and are hurting the most because of the drought, rather it is the rural poor; the unemployed, workers in positions of political impotency, and subsistence wage-type farmers. The flow on price increases in food staples affect the city poor most drastically, and more immediately than their wealthier counterparts. There is, therefore, a plurality of moral considerations to be taken into account regarding Basil's proposals. How would one minimise the impact of a serious social and economic collapse for the people who regularly get it in the neck? There will obviously be a continuing need for agricultural produce, despite the absence of production, how would that be met?

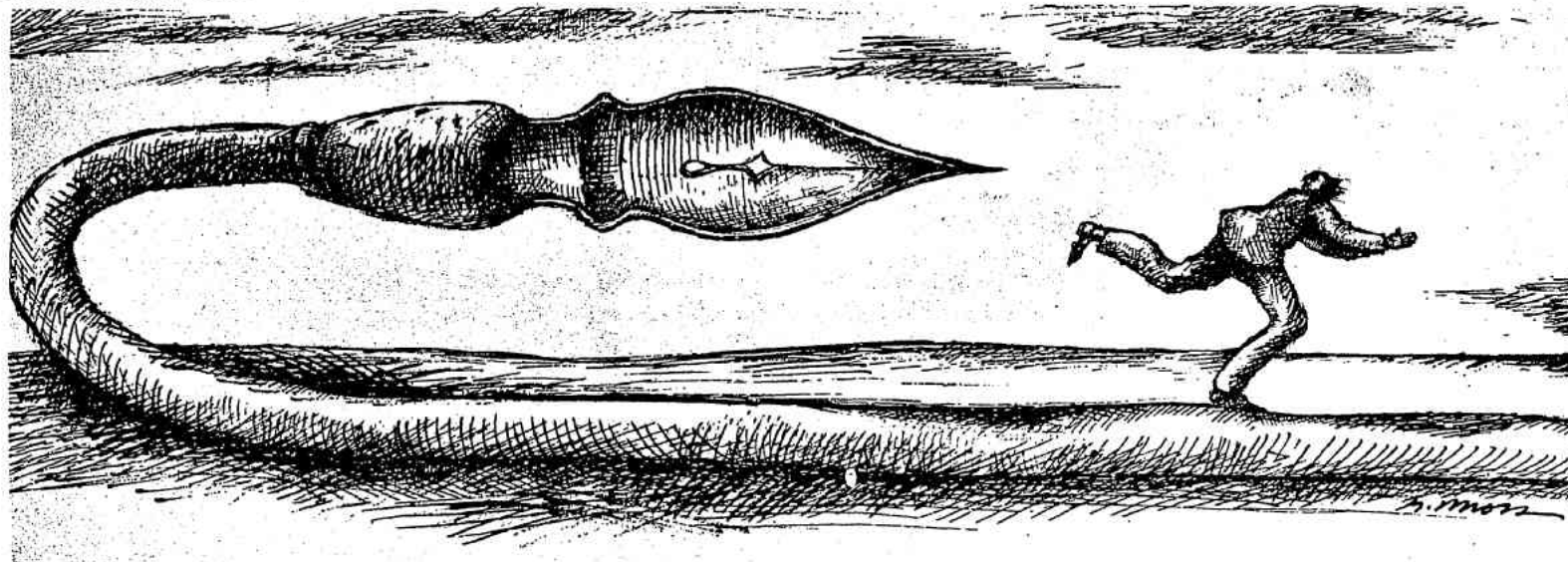
The net result, for argument's sake, of a thorough sort of foot and mouth epidemic, would be a poorer society. There are plenty of those around. There are not very many environmentally sound societies. It is fairly obvious that factors other than agricultural production or its absence would have to come into play in order for Australians to become biocentric. These other factors are tied up in the changes in consciousness, will and knowledge required to stop being so destructively consumerist, learning to be different, which, at least in part, motivates all sorts of people to indulge in "alternative life styles, hip clothing, people movements, non violence and even discussion about socialistic change", all of which Basil characterises as "minimally subversive to the standing order". It seems to me that, given the urgency informing Basil's article, "minimally subversive" partly corresponds to not immediately subversive. Learning processes (which these things largely are) cannot fit in easily with "short term" plans of the sort that appeal to Basil. (Basil regards more conventional short term environmental work, such as dam blockading, as too limited.)

Why all this hurry? Partly, it seems, from an understandable rage and frustration at the extent and the continuous nature of our environmental vandalism. It doesn't take long to cut a tree down, it takes ages for trees and minds to grow. That's tough, that's the way things are. But there is another motivation that peeps through in the list of "minimally subversive" actions, in the tone of the article, in the apparent lack of consideration of the effects of "alternative biological control" on other people, and on the environment itself. Mostly it peeps through in Basil's use of the term "anarchistic", and his quite justifiable suspicion of the narrowly materialistic outlook of traditional marxist thought.

The other motivation for Basil's sense of urgency, for his willingness to take on fairly awesome moral responsibilities, for his wanting individuals to immediately alter whole cultures and economic systems, is a political philosophy that partakes of a grand old tradition of anarchist thought. Max Stirner and Michael Bakunin (to say nothing of Milton's Satan or the Sex Pistols) would approve of Basil's argument, of the notion of individuals taking maximally subversive actions, from a basis of an individually formed morality, in order to have the most profound possible revolutionary impact, this in itself ensuring the desirability of the resultant changes. It is in the fact of being subversive that is held up as a virtue in itself. This regard for being as subversive as possible conflicts with Basil's notion of biocentricity, I'd suggest that Basil's disregard for the environmental and social impact of the course he advocates arises out of an essentially anthropocentric infatuation with promethean urges to escape political, social and environmental realities, urges that motivated Stirner and Bakunin. This particular strain of libertarian thought endures, and achieves little beyond misery, because it is so wonderfully romantic.

The alternative lifestyles Basil dismisses, the peoples movements and the non violence, the discussions and the homespun clothes all partake of traditions of libertarian thought. Unlike the romantic egoists, however, these traditions allow a plurality of thought, of moral considerations, a dynamic balancing of individual and communal responsibilities and rights. It is in such communities and movements that any real hope for social and environmental rectitude exists. Dramatic individual actions should be confined to things like planting trees.

George Franklin



Dear Editors,

I am writing concerning the changes to the Rules governing the elections for the Union Board of Management proposed by the Left members of the Board.

Rule 17 of the Electoral Rules states that:

"Voting at an election shall take place on four (4) consecutive days in the Union Building and at other places to be determined by the Returning Officer prior to the opening of nominations." The proposal is to delete all words in this rule after "Union Building". This would mean that whereas voting has also taken place at the halls and colleges and the K Block Canteen in the past, voting will be restricted to the Union Building.

The proposal has already been passed by the Board and will take effect if passed by a general meeting.

The thrust of the arguments which have been used in favour of this change seem to be that it is "unfair" that the ballot box should go to members of the Union living in halls and colleges, that if we cannot make voting convenient for everyone, we must make it equally inconvenient for everyone. Firstly, this argument is rather ridiculous and, secondly,

this is not what the proposal would achieve. Voting would remain easier and more convenient for those who customarily frequent the Union Building and who eat lunch there.

Matthew Storey, Chair of the Union Board, in his reply to Kerry Corke's letter in Woroni No. 6 put the following into the mouths of the present and previous Returning Officer and the current Electoral Arbiter:

"[I]t was a grossly inequitable situation to have one quarter of the membership (i.e. those members living in halls and colleges) enjoying the privilege of a ballot box in their lounge room at dinner time when the vast majority of the membership have no such privilege."

But doesn't that quarter, or so, of the membership which eats lunch in the Union Building enjoy "the privilege of a ballot box in their lounge room at dinner time"? Why is this less "grossly inequitable" given that if the proposal comes into effect the "vast majority", who do not eat in the Union would have no such privilege and anyway the ballot box only ever stays at each hall and college for an hour or two while it is in

the Union for most of the time.

Perhaps we should not have voting in the Union Building either!

Clearly this type of argument gets us nowhere. Surely, when deciding how voting should take place we should be trying to maximize the number who vote by making voting as convenient as possible for as many as possible, given financial constraints.

The fact that during the past four general elections about half the number of votes cast have been cast other than in the Union Building seems to indicate that more people do vote because the ballot box tours the halls and colleges and goes to K Block, and that the extra expense is justified.

It is true that it is difficult to justify the ballot box going to K Block on the number of votes cast there during the past few elections, but the low number of votes is due to the fact that the polling station was located outside the K Block Canteen early in the morning (9 to 10, as I recall, during the recent by-election). I would suggest that a much larger number of votes would be cast if the polling station was set up in the foyer of the Law School as happens in Students'

Associations elections.

An even better idea than retaining the current arrangements would be to institute postal voting which makes it easier for part-time students, in particular, to vote. On the one previous occasion that postal voting was used for the union elections, a record number of votes were cast. The only argument I can see against postal voting is one of cost, but it could not be much more expensive than paying two people to sit at a polling station for at least four days, as happens at present. Despite this, the Left controlled Union Board has always opposed the idea.

Because of the above arguments I urge the Union Board to reconsider its position and, if it does not, I urge all members of the Union to attend the general meeting which is to discuss the proposal.

Yours sincerely,
Glenn Phillips

VIOLATIONS OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

1. There are at least 40 prisons in East Timor, for a population of less than half a million. No outside observers have been permitted to inspect these institutions.

2. Reports from a variety of sources describe summary executions of surrendering Fretilin (national resistance) guerrillas; the entire family, including small children of Fretilin leader Rogerio Lobato, younger brother of the late Fretilin chief Nicolao Lobato, was executed by the Indonesians. Many former guerrillas who surrendered under Suharto's self-proclaimed amnesty programme have subsequently disappeared.

"Some people from the bush surrendered. All were suffering from a lack of clothing and had been sheltering in caves. They were immediately divided into two groups. The first group of five women were placed on one side and later taken away by helicopter. The second group, all of them males, both youths and adults, consisted of 20 people.

At the same place where they stood, this group of people were shot dead by the marines. Their bodies were covered with dry grass and leaves, and the whole thing was set alight."

3. Inhabitants of East Timor have been forcibly prevented from leaving. Virtually no native Timorese have been allowed to escape; Only a small cluster of Chinese have managed to get out, at the cost of paying what, in the East Timorese context, are enormous bribes to Indonesian officials.

4. International relief supplies have also been manipulated and embezzled by the local Indonesian military. In some cases, the distribution of relief has been made contingent on "loyalty", and even on the performance of intelligence functions for the army.

"Ranking Indonesian officers have organized a system, using soliders as middlemen, to divert Indonesian, Red Cross and other humanitarian relief, chiefly rice, to shops in Dili We talked to the small soldiers and they complained they were not getting enough from the big ones selling it."

UNDER INDONESIA, A LAND OF HUNGER, OPPRESSION AND MISERY.

The International Red Cross and Catholic Relief Services estimated that 200,000 East Timorese were suffering from acute malnutrition, with 60,000 in need of urgent medical attention. 200,000 people — i.e. at least one third of the entire population — are now living in 150 "resettlement areas". The real nature of these "resettlement areas" is revealed by an interview with an agricultural specialist working with the Indonesian military in East Timor, who said that the plan for these "areas" had been drawn up "largely for strategic reasons, placing the population where the army can control it."

The regime has never admitted to its own people that it invaded Timor, Indonesian soldiers killed there have been quietly interred without public honours, and even the name of the military commander in the area, General Dading, was kept secret for several years.

The realities of human rights conditions have been well epitomized by a recent refugee from Dili,

Dili [is] a 'world of terror,' full of informers and spies. Police units forcibly break up small groups on the streets, residents are afraid of being arrested for listening to foreign radio broadcasts, mail is censored, the use of Portuguese is forbidden, and the Timorese live in fear of being denounced as sympathizers of the guerrillas. . .

Another refugee related that his brother, falsely denounced as a Fretilin member, had been "tortured with electricity. He was in jail for 16 months. If it is a lady, they go in with cigarettes on the face and on the body."

The horrifying nature and scale of the Suharto regime's violations of individual human rights in East Timor bears comparison with the situation in Kampuchea. It is widely believed that at least 100,000 people, one sixth of the country's population on the eve of the invasion, have died as a result of what the *New York Times* calls Indonesia's 'unjust war' and 'ruthless military occupation'.

PAGE 6

E.T.

"Our experience under Indonesia as convinced us that the key to our dignity and happiness lies in the exercise of our God-given right to self-determination. Much deeper than the pain in our bellies or the disease in our bodies is the pain in our spirits that comes from the denial of our rights. We yearn only for our freedom, our freedom to live without fear, our freedom to speak our own language, our freedom to make our own decisions, and our freedom to enter the community of nations."

EAST TIMOR



A SMALL NATION WITH A RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE

The past 18 months have seen a strong campaign by the Indonesian government, along with a number of supporting governments and individuals, to get East Timor away from international scrutiny. The basic strategy in the campaign is to point to greatly increased expenditure by the Indonesian government in East Timor as proof of Jakarta's commitment to the welfare of the Timorese.

Leaving aside the question of whether many East Timorese benefit, there is no doubt that Jakarta has increased expenditure there. But this is clearly an attempt by the government to buy its way out of trouble internationally, to consolidate integration processes and hopefully, win a few hearts and minds in Timor.

In an interview with the Indonesian weekly *Tempo* (22 January), the Indonesian-sponsored governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao said that 'human development must be speeded up, in step with physical development'. Many Indonesians coming to East Timor acted in a superior way towards East Timorese.

" . . . many 'imported' social problems have already emerged. Government officials are beginning to ask for 'fag money' (bribes) for their services. Many reports are not being sent on to superiors. Illegal charges are becoming widespread, particularly outside the towns, at the posts set up to examine travel passes which are still required in East Timor. There are rumours of corruption and leakage of funds."

Two recent reports from Indonesia have provided evidence that the East Timorese continue to reject integration.

In January, Fretilin representatives in Portugal released details of a 60-page document received from a Fretilin leader in East Timor named Xanan. Dated 14 October 1982, the report claimed the resistance was composed of 'six regular companies (about 6,800 men) . . . operating in the centre and southern border zones, apart from their 'stronghold' in the eastern Los-palos zone'. They were however, fighting under difficult conditions with poor arms. Xanan said Fretilin suffered a serious setback with the loss of 'between 80 and 100 veterans' as well as civilian casualties during Indonesia's security operation in late 1981 (*Canberra Times*, 19 January).

Jakarta-based French journalist Gilles Bertin has reported that "the population as a whole is resisting 'Javanisation' ". Reflecting the importance of the Catholic Church in Timor as a symbol of resistance, Bertin wrote:

"Several thousand people a month are being converted to Catholicism, which would appear to be their way of rejecting integration with Indonesia."

Bertin claims the Indonesian army has been unable to crush Timorese resistance and that ". . . if anything, the rebels have won increasing support for their guerilla tactics among the island's population." (from *Canberra Times* 14 March).

"Now the resistance forces number about 4,000 — in possession of heavy armaments. Now they are well equipped with arms captured from the Indonesian army . . . they are well organised and disciplined. Much better than before. One can say that the fighting in Timor is still aflame."

It is clear that the resistance continues, and in 1981-1982 the Indonesian army was carrying out large-scale sweeps in the Lautem region, in the east of the territory. According to some reports, at least 50,000 male Timorese — including boys aged 15 or less — have been conscripted to serve as a human shield for the Indonesian troops. Without pay and neither fed nor billeted they are forced to advance unarmed ahead of the Indonesian forces, and to engage any guerrillas or local inhabitants they encounter.

These sweeps, named 'fence of legs', are only the most recent example of Indonesian military brutality. In January 1976 press reports based on Australian intelligence monitoring of Indonesian communications, confirmed what had at first been treated as exaggerated Fretilin allegations of indiscriminate killing during the invasion itself. In March 1976 the vice-governor of Indonesian-occupied Dili said that 60,000 Timorese had been killed during the two months after the invasion. Detailed descriptions of burning, torture, killing and looting by Indonesian troops were also collected by the former Australian consul in Dili, Mr J.S. Dunn, in extensive interviews with refugees in Portugal in 1977.

"Fretilin is symbol of resistance", said one prominent Timorese. "In the heart of the people there will always be resistance. That's why I think the Indonesians are happy to see famine. The Timorese people will always be a problem, so they figure just eliminate the problem."

These direct casualties, however, were only the beginning. In response to continuing resistance the Indonesian military forced the population into strategic hamlets and bombed mountain areas inaccessible to ground troops. These tactics prevented the Timorese from supporting themselves by agriculture, with the result that in 1978 famine aggravated the effects of injury, disease and displacement. In 1978 and 1979 100,000 Timorese streamed down from the mountains, many dying of hunger. Experienced relief workers who took part in the severely restricted relief operation subsequently permitted by the Indonesians compared the situation with that of Kampuchea. Statistics for Timor are inevitably unreliable, but the scale of the suffering of the Timorese is sufficiently indicated by the estimate that of a pre-independence population of around 670,000, more than 100,000 have died.

The people of East Timor are unlikely to recover their freedom and independence by their efforts alone. This does not mean that there is no option but to accept a permanent Indonesian presence in East Timor. Rather than diminishing, the prospects for Indonesian withdrawal are increasing. In quite a number of key nations pressure is building for international action to force Indonesia to allow an act of self determination in East Timor.

It is difficult to see that in present circumstances, East Timorese armed resistance can burn back the Indonesian occupation. That resistance remains, however, an enduring and seemingly indestructible symbol of Timorese attitudes to the occupation. It is these attitudes which should form the basis of any genuine work in defence of the East Timorese.

OUTER SPACE OR CLOSE NEIGHBOUR?

To accept Indonesian presence in Timor is to accept a continuation of the hell that has been Timor since 1975. It is to condemn the Timorese to suffering and death.

AUSTRALIAN POLICY ON EAST TIMOR

The future of the new Australian Labor government's policy on East Timor is in the melting pot. Supported by a strong media campaign against the policy, the Cabinet has stepped back dramatically from affirming the ALP's long-standing commitment to support for East Timorese self-determination. There are clear signs that unless there is concerted support for the policy from within the Party and outside it, the policy will not be implemented.

Foreign policy issues did not figure largely in the lead up to the March 5 election. The then shadow Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Hayden did however affirm the East Timor policy.

In the first month in government, Prime Minister Hawke stressed the importance of good relations with Indonesia and tended to treat East Timor as an issue of the past.

On the ABC radio program 'AM' Mr Hawke said: "... the events of the end of 1975 and into 1976 damaged the relations - it would be quite futile to say otherwise and it is also true to say that they have not fully recovered. ... Having said that ... it would be quite inappropriate for Australia not to have good relations with such a populous, economically and strategically important country as Indonesia - right on our doorstep." (March 11).

These and similar comments clearly fell short of an affirmation of ALP policy. For those who might have accepted such statements as necessary diplomatic language preceding a 'down to business' visit to Jakarta by Foreign Minister Hayden, there were further disquieting signs. Both Bob Hawke and Bill Hayden in separate meetings with the Indonesian ambassador in Canberra, said the ALP policy was "an embarrassment", and that the "hoped to circumvent the intentions of the resolution" (SMH 18 March). Hastings further claimed they told the ambassador that the Indonesian Cabinet "should pay attention to what the Labor government did over East Timor rather than what the ALP's policy said it would do."

A report leaked from the Department of Foreign Affairs that the government intended to abstain on the East Timor issue at the United Nations (Age, 25 March). This would appear to be inconsistent with party policy which says the ALP "will continue to support United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of the East Timorese". In response to the report, Mr Hayden appeared to draw even further back from ALP policy by implying that the ALP Cabinet had not yet decided on a stance at the UN (Canberra Times, 26 March).

In his report to Caucus, Hayden referred to possible Indonesian reprisals against Australia if it pursued the East Timor issue. He mentioned the possible withdrawal of landing and overflight rights for the Australian airline Qantas.

This 'threat' has been floating around Canberra for years, promoted by a small group of academics and journalists committed to close, uncritical ties with Jakarta. A number of newsmen including the Australian Financial Review gave this 'threat' serious coverage during Hayden's trip. The Canberra Times insisted that it did not come from the Indonesian government: "... it is much more likely that an overly cautious, not to say pusillanimous Department of Foreign Affairs has soothed those boogies on to the new Government" (Editorial, 12 April).

A 35-member Caucus committee will discuss East Timor with Mr Hayden in early May. A key issue for Caucus will be whether to push for an immediate implementation of some parts of the policy - and if so, which parts? The executive has shown little signs of moving on any of the policy.

Australian silence has given the Indonesian government a freer hand to kill, maim, torture, and oppress the people in Timor. Australian aid has been a contribution to Indonesian impositions on the Timorese. The very 'resettlement' program which confines Timorese to strategic hamlets and through which aid is distributed is a death sentence for many Timorese. They have little access to land and, when the Indonesians do not provide food, the Timorese die.

The only way forward is to vigorously oppose the continued Indonesian presence and for an Australian government to take up the cause of the people of East Timor in a determined manner through all possible channels.



AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY POLICY ON EAST TIMOR

The ALP recognises the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence and rejects the Australian government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor.

The ALP opposes all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor.

Aid to East Timor should benefit the East Timorese but should not support Indonesian Government integration processes or military strategy.

The ALP supports the principle of free migration of East Timorese, including refugees, and believes Australia has an obligation and ability to assist East Timorese to come to Australia.

The ALP will seek out and make publicly available information on all aspects of the East Timor issue.

The ALP opposes the operations of Australian companies in East Timor until self-determination has been achieved.

The ALP will continue to support United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese.

The ALP will further -

- circulate information on East Timor to governments to release more information;
- campaign for the Australian government to release more information;
- press for free access to East Timor for the Australian news media;
- demand that Fretilin representatives be allowed into Australia;

press for an Australian parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor on a fact-finding mission, ensuring that adequate support is available from interpreters and that unhindered access is available to all parts of the country and population; and

press for a parliamentary enquiry into all aspects of the East Timor question.

The ALP will also -

press the Australian government to widen its existing programmes to include: the parents and families of isolated children in Australia; the rest of the 2668 extended family members nominated by Timorese in Australia in 1977; and all other East Timorese who wish to come here;

press the Australian government to send an immigration team to East Timor to bring to Australia the rest of the 600 people on the agreed list and those embraced by categories in the preceding paragraph;

seek direct talks with the Indonesian government on the matter;

draw attention to the lack of free migration from East Timor in all appropriate international fora; and meet with the Timorese community in Australia to enquire into the special problems affecting them.

An ALP government will -

bring to Australia all Timorese included above;

refuse visas to all Indonesian military and government officials until the rest of the 600 people on the agreed list have been admitted to Australia, and send an immigration team to East Timor to bring direct to Australia all East Timorese specified above.

AUSTRALIA HAS BEEN IN A UNIQUE POSITION TO INFLUENCE EVENTS IN TIMOR. HOWEVER, FAR FROM SUPPORTING THE RIGHTS OF THE TIMORESE, SUCCESSIVE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE ACTED IN WAYS WHICH SUPPORTED THE INDONESIAN INVASION. LACK OF ACTION OVER THE MURDER BY INDONESIAN TROOPS OF AN AUSTRALIAN NEWS TEAM IN OCTOBER 1975, AND THE CONTINUATION, AND EVEN EXPANSION, OF MILITARY AID TO INDONESIA ARE ONLY TWO INSTANCES OF SUCH ACQUIESCENCE AND/OR SUPPORT. AT NO TIME HAS THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT TAKEN ANY DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES TO PREVENT OR REVERSE THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR.

1983 U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RESOLUTION

THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

1. REAFFIRM the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2. DECALRES that the people of East Timor must be enabled freely to determine their own future on the basis of the relevant United Nations human rights instruments;

3. CALLS UPON all interested parties, namely Portugal, as the administering Power, and the representatives of the East Timorese people, as well as Indonesia, to co-operate fully with the United Nations with a view to guaranteeing the free and full exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of East Timor;

4. EXPRESSES ITS DEEPEST CONCERN at the suffering of the people of East Timor as a result of the situation now prevailing in the Territory;

5. CALLS UPON all parties concerned to facilitate the entry into the territory of international aid to alleviate the suffering of the people of East Timor.

FOR: Brazil, China, Cuba, Cyprus, Ghana, Republic of Ireland, Lybia, Mexico, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Togo, Uganda, Ukranian SSR, USSR, Tanzania, Zimbabwe.

AGAINST: Argentina, AUSTRALIA, Bangladesh, Canada, Columbia, Fiji, Gambia, India, Japan, Jordan, Pakistan, Phillipines, USA, Uruguay.

ABSTAINING: Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Holland, Poland, Ruanda, Senegal, Britain, Yugoslavia.

A senior US State Department official told White House reporters recently that the Australian Government was acting in a 'destructive' way on the East Timor issue.

Australian observers of the new Labor government have seen few signs that it intends to actively work for East Timorese self-determination. But it seems 'great friends and allies' are also wondering which way the government is going to jump.

HAYDEN IN JAKARTA

Details of Bill Hayden's discussions with senior Indonesian officials in Jakarta on April 6-9 have not been revealed. Nor have Hayden's recommendations to Cabinet surfaced. While in Jakarta, Mr Hayden met with President Suharto, Foreign Minister Mochtar and the powerful head of the armed forces, Benny Murdani (who was overall commander of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor).

Mr Hayden told a press conference in Jakarta at the conclusion of this visit that he had expressed 'deep concern that an internationally supervised act of self-determination had not taken place in East Timor (Canberra Times, 9 April). But he also said that a decision on the UN vote would be determined later and that "existing programs, projects and exchanges in Indonesia (a clear reference to military aid - ed) will be maintained. . . ." In short, the policy would not be quickly implemented.

For further information about campaigns in support of the East Timorese, contact

CARPA
(Campaign against repression in the Pacific and Asia)

Bill 62 1502 or Max 88 6983
or Timor Information Service
PO Box 77 Clifton Hill. Vic 3068

East Timor is and will continue to be crucial in Australian foreign policy. The platform states that the ALP seeks to ensure that the principle that all peoples have a right to live in peace is reflected in Australia's approach to international relations and arms control. In effect, this rules out military assistance or defence links with any nation engaged in a war of aggression or occupying foreign territory against the wishes and interests of the inhabitants. Indonesia has occupied East Timor and conducted a war of aggression since 1975 against the bitter resistance of the Timorese people. Throughout this time the Fraser Government has supplied the aggressor with military hardware. Equally significantly it has trained military officers - many of whom must have since served in East Timor - and maintained close intelligence links with the Indonesian military establishment. Not only would the continuation of such policies under Labor be in contravention of the ALP platform but it would be contrary to the interests of the people of Timor and, in the long run, other peoples in the region. Labor policy should be to cut all military aid and so-called defence co-operation with Indonesia.

Indonesian government figures and strategists like Peter Hastings have clearly identified the United Nations vote as the test for the Australian Government's intentions. Government statements that a decision on the UN vote will not be taken until later in the year, clearly suggests it does not presently plan to take initiatives at the UN in support of East Timorese self-determination.

On 16 February 1983 the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva narrowly passed a resolution in favour of East Timorese self-determination. Sixteen countries voted for the resolution and fourteen, including the Australian (Liberal) government voted against.

"The United States wished things to turn out as they did, and worked to bring this about. The Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. This task was given to me, and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success."

Both Portugal and Indonesia, while not currently members of the Commission, were "lobbying furiously" before the vote was taken.

Indonesian representatives circulated a statement referring to visits to Timor by International Red Cross and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees as proof that there was no famine of human rights violations.

The claims embarrassed the two agencies. The UNHCR office denied it had ever mounted an investigating mission. A Red Cross spokesman said the food situation had improved "but the 1982 rice crop had fallen far short of needs and that food aid would still be needed". The Red Cross official added that *under an agreement with the Indonesian government* (our emphasis), he could not give details of conditions in the camps and prisons.

"The Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor violates two fundamental norms of international law. First, Indonesia's actions deprived East Timor of its right to self-determination. Second, military intervention into East Timor constituted an act of aggression forbidden by the United Nations and customary law."

In the context of international diplomatic activity on the East Timor issue, this resolution is quite significant. It clearly identifies self-determination as a principal 'human right'. An Australian Labor government vote in support of such resolutions would certainly ensure the issue was kept under a much-needed international spotlight.

According to Ian Chalmers (Pol. Sci ANU) the most important aspect of Australian support for East Timor is now the UN vote on the issue in August. If Australia changes its vote from abstention to support for Indonesia, the other nations will follow. This would take the Timorese cause off the UN Agenda - a major setback.

LOOKING AT



LAW SCHOOL

AUSTRALASIAN LAW STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

1983 CONVENTION

— A REPORT —

INTRODUCTION

The Australasian Law Students' Association (ALSA) is an international body made up of affiliated law schools from Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea. Its objects, as stated in its constitution, are:

- (i) to provide and maintain an international organisation of law students,
- (ii) to facilitate the discussion and determination of matters of interest to its members,
- (iii) to encourage and facilitate the co-operation and exchange of information between its members
- (iv) to conduct the Australasian Mooting Competition
- (v) to conduct the Australasian Witness Examination Competition
- (vi) to conduct an annual conference of its members incorporating the holding of an Annual General Meeting.

This year's Convention was hosted by the Auckland Law Students' Society in Auckland. All Australian law schools except Macquarie were represented, and there were delegations from Auckland, Wellington and Malaysia. Due to a variety of reasons ANU only sent one delegate and consequently did not participate in the moot competition. However, ANU did make a significant contribution to most of the Convention's other facets.

The following is a brief account of what happened at the 1983 Convention.

THE MOOTING AND WITNESS EXAMINATION COMPETITIONS

The moot began in a very competitive spirit, with some teams such as that from the University of NSW (UNSW) going straight from the airport to the library. The problems were mainly based on the law of tort and contract, though the problem for the final was one of evidence. In the final the 'favourites' Melbourne were beaten by the team from the University of Queensland in an entertaining and well-argued moot.

A great deal of concern was expressed at the Convention on the way in which the moot tended to dominate the first half of the Convention to the detriment of the other activities conducted during that period. In particular was the fact that the mooters missed attending the early seminars and student papers, which meant small audiences and often limited discussion. This matter will be considered by a committee which has been set up to review the constitution of ALSA.

The Witness Examination Competition was often entertaining and in some cases showed the more distasteful aspects of our adversarial system. The eventual winner of the competition was a student from UNSW, which surprised few people in light of the fact that UNSW actually has a unit teaching witness examination techniques.

PRESIDENTS' MEETINGS

There were two meetings between the Presidents of the various law societies. The first of these was something of a get-to-know-each-other session which covered the respective degree and decision-making structures of each law school, the report from a major survey conducted by Sydney University, and the structure of the seminar on practical legal education. The second meeting planned the Annual General Meeting and discussed the establishment of a constitutional review committee along with the adoption of some interim constitutional amendments designed to allow ALSA to better achieve its stated objectives.

THE FORMAL SEMINARS

There were three 'formal' seminars.

1. Sexual Violence: The Case for Law Reform

This seminar began with a paper on a government study on the current New Zealand legal position on sexual violence and the possibilities of reform. A panel of practitioners, police and counsellors then commented on the paper and the session ended with general discussion. The paper, presented by a woman academic, placed

the crimes of sexual violence and the current laws in their patriarchal context and emphasised that any reforms would have to go towards changing attitudes and not just terminology. She outlined a number of possible reforms and then the panel made its contribution. The panel added little to the paper, though one of its number, an eminent QC felt that much of the problem was simply that women were ignorant of the law — a pretty naive comment which was treated as such by all present. The discussion which followed the panel's comments tended to centre on the establishment of not only new laws but also a more informal and supportive court structure for rape cases. All in all the seminar was very interesting and this brief summary does not do it justice.

2. Practical Legal Education

This seminar dealt with post-degree training for the legal profession. It commenced with a discussion of the systems currently operating in New Zealand generally and in Auckland in particular and then covered some proposed reforms. This was followed by each Law School giving a run-down on the scheme or schemes available in their respective states or territory, and then a general discussion occurred. Mr Tomkin from the New Zealand Council of Legal Education outlined the current NZ scheme as another year of study for admission and described it as too academic in nature with not enough coverage of the practical skills required by lawyers. He proposes a two-part Practical Training Course, the first year of which would be prerequisite for practice and the second year would occur after admission and would be a pre-requisite for practice as an independent lawyer. Both parts of the course would emphasise the practical aspects and there would be no formal examinations. The schemes described by each law school ranged from our Legal Workshop (College of Law in NSW), through the 'Godfather' schemes in Victoria and South Australia, to the more traditional approach of articles. The general discussion was brief for want of time and covered some of the findings in the survey run by Sydney University as well as some comments on the extent to which under-graduate courses should cover professional training (about half of those present including myself and Mr Tomkin were opposed to such training occurring during the LLB).

3. Accident Compensation

This seminar centred on the no-fault scheme of compensation which has operated in New Zealand since 1974, and covered some of the cases in that time. It would seem that the scheme has operated fairly smoothly in its nine years of existence and has not had the detrimental effects on the profession which many had predicted. It will be interesting to see how the latest Australian proposals fare.

THE INFORMAL SEMINARS — THE STUDENT PAPERS

There were a number of student papers presented at the Convention. Most of these are to be published in a post-Convention handbook and I will therefore only make some brief comments about them. The papers were —

(i) the problems in Malaysia with respect to people being told to plead guilty to crimes which they do not understand due to the language problems, i.e. there are dozens of Chinese dialects and consequently major language problems which are only slightly overcome by a recently introduced interpreter service.

(ii) student activism in law schools — this paper was presented by ANU and copies are available from myself. The paper covered the policy of the Australian Union of Students on legal education, a brief theoretical justification for student activism and an examination of the work done by the Law School Action

Group at ANU.

(iii) an analysis of the South-West Tasmania dams issue — this was a very good paper and included some discussion of the general issues at stake, the politics of it all and a straight legal analysis of the cases likely to be put to the High Court.

(iv) the ways and means of uniting Australia and New Zealand as one nation — an entertaining paper which confronted the issues of confederation.

(v) the retrospective tax legislation in operation — a rather dry and legalistic examination of how this legislation works in practice (apparently not that smoothly).

(vi) the legalisation of marijuana in Australia.

There were also a number of papers which could not be presented due to a lack of time. These will probably be made available through the newly created position of Education Vice President later on in the year.

THE SOCIAL SIDE OF ALSA

It was the social aspects of ALSA's Convention where some of the most valuable discussions occurred. There was an enormous transfer of information and ideas on the various law schools and approaches to legal education. As well as being of great educational value the social functions have built up a useful contact list and were a lot of fun.

THE 1983 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The meeting began with a number of 'house-keeping' matters which mainly tidied up a few financial matters from past Conventions. There was then major debate on the funding for the ALSA moot team to the Commonwealth Mooting Competition which is being held in Hong Kong. The meeting finally resolved to give the team 20% of ALSA's cash assets after its debts for the Convention had been settled. The meeting then discussed the current constitution and the fact that ALSA was not operating 52 weeks a year but really only one week a year (i.e. the Convention each year). It was resolved to set up a Constitutional Review Committee to re-write the constitution and standing orders, the new documents to be ratified by post later on in the year. The Committee was made the responsibility of one of the Vice-Presidents.

In the interim the Constitution was amended in two aspects. Firstly the structure of ALSA was divided into two committees which are responsible to a General Council. One of the committees has sole responsibility for the organisation of the Annual Convention while the other is to look after the communication-of-information-and-ideas aspect of ALSA. Due to its size and resources Sydney University will look after both these tasks itself, that is, it will act as both committees. The second amendment was the creation of the position of Education Vice President or EVP. The EVP is the person responsible for the collection of information on campaigns, policies, papers etc. relating to law schools and legal education, to publish a newsletter two or three times a year, to establish an archives, and to help in the production of an Annual journal.

The meeting ended with the decision to have Sydney University host the 1984 Convention and the election of office-bearers.

SOME CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The 1983 Convention was a success in a number of ways. The most significant aspect was the decision to get ALSA working as a 52 weeks a year body. There is much that each law school can learn from the experiences and activities of other law schools, and it is the task of ALSA to make sure that this learning occurs. The Constitution Committee will hopefully capture this new spirit of ALSA and provide for the machinery necessary to keep it operating throughout the year. My main hope is that ANU will continue to participate in ALSA and do its best to make ALSA a valuable and useful organisation.

PHILIP KELLOW
ANU Delegate to ALSA Convention 1983
ALSA Education Vice-President

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Alice Through the Microscope: The Power of Science Over Women's Lives. Virago, 1980. 306pp.

THE POWER of SCIENCE

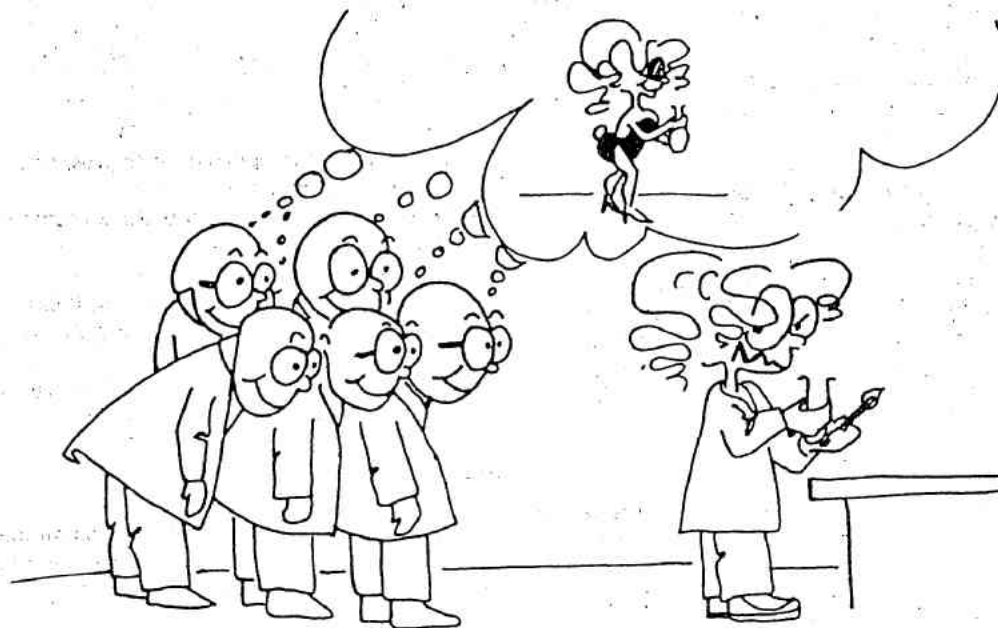
And then there is the third aspect, of girls opting out of science. As well as the messages from family mass media and peer group on what women are 'supposed' to be doing, the authors (members of the Brighton Women and Science Group) suggest that part of how girls learn science is not for them, is the combination of male teachers, male characters in examples, and male-associated areas of activity in the examples (something of a vicious circle). Another interesting aspect they suggest is that a conception of science as all abstract, logical, pure etc. leads to an impersonal and inhuman

over WOMEN'S LIVES

As you can see, this book isn't all that hot off the press: but we only found out about it recently, and we thought it was jolly interesting, and it might interest all those science students who are getting into new and different questions about their education.

This book isn't "just" a feminist analysis of what science does to women in general, it's also about what happens to women *within* science, and the factors that contribute to women's exclusion from (or marginalisation within) science. The first chapter, "Science Education: Did She Drop Out Or Was She Pushed", runs through all the facts and figures on how progressively less and less women get in to the higher reaches of educational institutions, how this is even more pronounced in science and technology areas, and what happens in the world of employment ("women are found in 'service' occupations rather than in 'productive' work"). Then it examines the three fairly obvious possible reasons for this phenomenon of women not doing science: they just can't, they're not allowed to, they don't want to.

The first view (women are innately illogical, incapable of abstract thought, and therefore no good at science) is fairly easily rubbished with some interesting side-remarks (in line with one of the major threads of the book) on the role of apparently neutral scientific explanations in legitimating unscientific ideas: if we're clear that humans are a peculiar sort of animal (i.e. *social*, with history and not just biology), we'll recognise the significance of nurtures as well as nature, go on to interrogate the functions of hypotheses as to 'nature' (rather mystical, given that you can't just unwrap 'nurture'), and perhaps pause on the impressive explanation of girls-can't-do-science, as a self-fulfilling prophecy, acted out via teacher expectations, etc.



'Men outnumber women by five to one at postgraduate level in science'

The second view, that women just aren't allowed to, might seem irrelevant, as everyone's allowed to do science: however, even if girls aren't formally stopped, there's the matters of "careers guidance", peer-group pressure, who does domestic science, and who does

tech.drawing.etc. and if we accept some kind of empirical general differences in, say, spatial ability, as significant for sheer 'ability' in science, then the questioning could go back to, what kind of toys do you give your girl-baby /boy-baby?

sort of science, which is less appealing to women, but perhaps fits with the kind of careless anti-emotionality boys often get wrapped up in (particularly in academia!) And this is a *problem* not just for women, but also for science: part of a vicious circle which gives us a 'science' which gives us atomic bombs, lobotomies, spaceships etc. (and then shrugs its shoulders).

This book is about a few billion other things as well, much of it devoted to fleshing out a position that science is *not* neutral, that it is *not* just a matter of the use or abuse society makes of scientific discoveries. Rather, science is part of society, with all its complicated unfairness, and so it acts out sexism, and so it contributes to the maintenance of sexism. . . .

I am afraid it is pretty sceptical about a lot of so-called scientific psychology. Also about medicine (which ought not wound the souls of ANU types), which is important in controlling women's control of their own bodies, at many levels (sexuality - reproduction - femaleness as illness). However the concentration on biological sciences does not mean there is nothing here of interest to students of 'hard' sciences: many general questions on the role of science, and women's participation in it, are posed.

Sexism in Education Group
Education Collective.

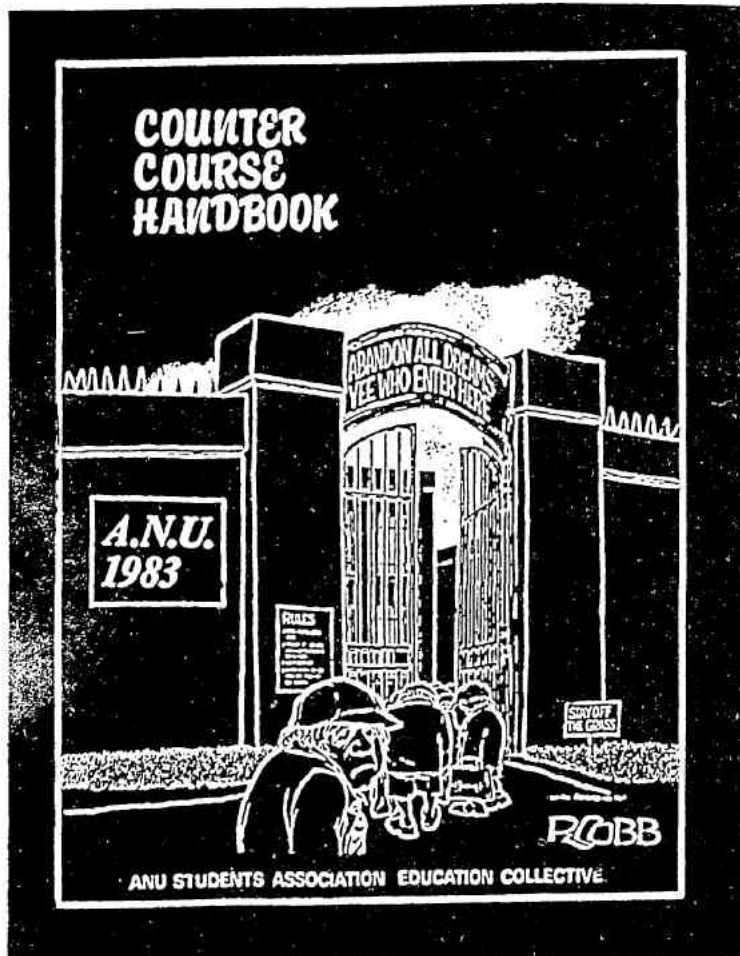
counter sexism in education group meets

friday 17 june 1pm

s.a office

all welcome!

first semester units



Get

YOUR

COUNTER-COURSE

Handbook

questionnaires IN!

Students & the Dole

This document was obtained from the Department of Social Security under freedom of information legislation. It outlines the criteria

which the Department uses for deciding which full time students are eligible for unemployment benefits. It may be of interest.



The Federal Court decision in the case of Director-General of Social Services and Mim Thomson has prompted clarification of the guidelines for payment of unemployment benefit to a person engaged in studies.

2. Existing instructions 2.430 to 2.456 of the U&SB Manual are hereby withdrawn: in their place the guidelines set out below are to be applied.

3 The application of the clarified guidelines will still mean that very few students attending full time courses will be able to qualify for, unemployment benefit. The emphasis, however, is that each claim must be determined by reference to a range of factors as shown in the guidelines and that singular factors such as hours of attendance will not in themselves be a definitive guide.

General Eligibility for Unemployment Benefit

4. In assessing eligibility for unemployment benefit, the prime requirement is that a person is able to satisfy paragraph 107(1) (C) of the Act which requires that a claimant

- (i) be unemployed
- (ii) be capable of undertaking suitable paid work
- (iii) be willing to undertake suitable paid work, and
- (iv) have taken reasonable steps to obtain such work.

5. These criteria must be met for each period for which benefit is claimed (i.e. for each period covered by a form SU19A or SU19B).

State of "Unemployment" and Willingness to Undertake Suitable Work

6. Assuming that a person is physically capable of undertaking suitable work ((ii) above), a major factor in assessing whether a person may be regarded as unemployed and willing to undertake work will be the measure of a person's commitment to the course of studies as opposed to his commitment to obtaining employment.

7. In measuring the degree of commitment to the course of study regard should be had to the following factors:

- the length of the course
- contact hours required to satisfy the course
- whether job interviews can be attended during contact hours
- whether there is a clear, stated intention to give up the course if a job is obtained
- whether TEAS or other educational/training allowance would be payable.
- nature of the course and reason for undertaking study
- whether the course is a logical extension of a previous course of study (e.g. tertiary studies following matriculation, post-graduate studies)
- whether the course is a pre-requisite to obtaining employment in a particular field
- what fees are payable and what fees have in fact been paid.

8. If hours of attendance indicate that it is a full-time course this (and attendance times) should be verified with the appropriate institution. However, the mere fact that a course is full-time or part-time will not alone answer the question of eligibility. A range of factors need to be taken into account before the questions of whether the claimant can be regarded as unemployed and willing to undertake work can properly be answered.

Reasonable Steps to Obtain Work

9. Provided that the delegate is satisfied that the claimant is unemployed, capable and willing to undertake suitable work, the remaining test is whether the claimant has in fact taken reasonable steps to obtain employment in the relevant period. To meet this test a claimant must:

- have made direct approaches to prospective employers, either by personal or written application
- have made a number of approaches commensurate with available employment opportunities for the area
- be realistic in what he regards as suitable work, having regard to his relevant qualifications and/or experience and the length of time he has been unemployed.

The claimant will also be expected to have registered for employment with the Commonwealth Employment Service.

General

10. In assessing the overall degree of commitment to study, what a claimant/beneficiary says about his intention to complete the course should be carefully weighed against the objective facts. For example, where:

- a substantial fee has been paid
 - a qualification will be reached on completion of the course
 - a promise of employment upon successful completion of the course is made
- it is unlikely that a delegate will be able to find that a person is able to satisfy paragraph 107(1)(c).

10. A list of examples of how the degree of commitment can be measured is appended at Attachment 'A'.

Acknowledgement

11. Please advise by return memorandum the date on which the terms of this instruction were issued to staff in your Administration.

(Sgd.) J. MacMahon

A/g First Assistant Director-General
Benefits

Example 1

A student has paid \$600 to attend a six-month course which results in a secretarial qualification, if completed successfully. The amount paid and the job qualification suggest the seriousness of the student's intentions and as such there would be reasonable doubt that paragraph 107(1)(c) could be satisfied.

Example 2

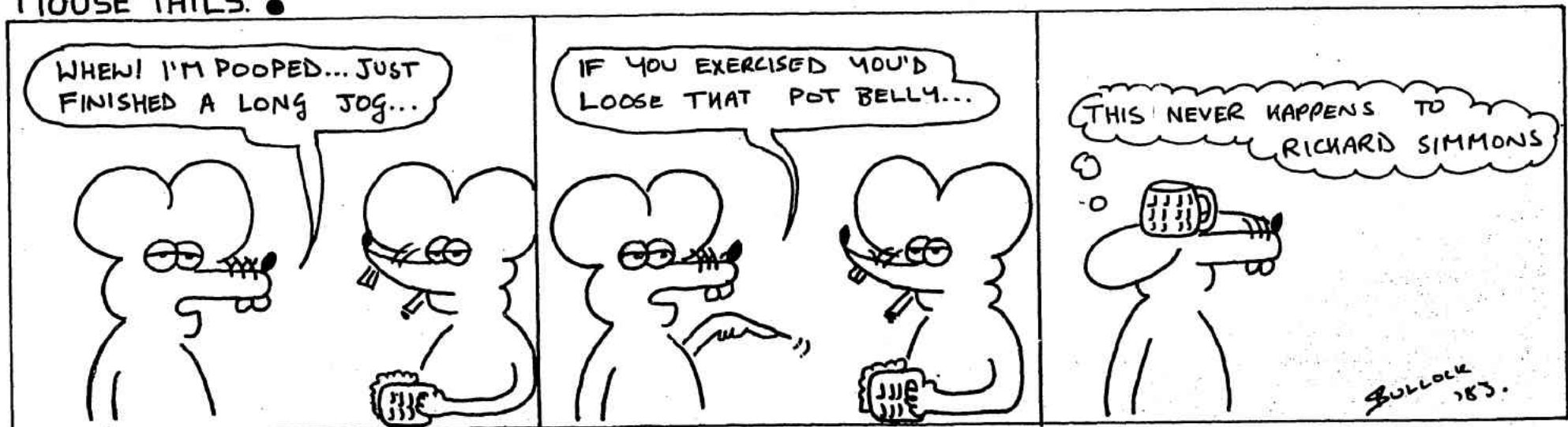
A person is attending the final year of a three course degree/diploma course, and is enrolled for three full-year units. Very strong evidence would be required to rebut the strong objective evidence of the person's commitment to complete the course.

Example 3

A person with trade qualifications attends a craft or hobby course for two six-hours days a week (theory plus practical work). The requirement to be unemployed, capable and willing to undertake suitable work may be satisfied but evidence of having taken reasonable steps to obtain suitable work is still required.

An analysis of this situation will be included in the next edition of Woroni

MOUSE TAILS. ●



A WOMAN IS TALKING TO DEATH

Testimony in trials that never got heard

my lovers teeth are white geese flying above me
my lovers muscles are rope ladders under my hands

we were driving home slow
my love and I, across the long Bay Bridge,
one February midnight, when midway
over in the far left lane, I saw a strange scene:

one small young man standing by the rail,
and in the lane itself, parked straight across
as if it could stop anything, a large young
man upon a stalled motorcycle, perfectly
relaxed as if he'd stopped at a hamburger stand;
he was wearing a peacoat and levis, and
he had his head back, roaring, you
could almost hear the laugh, it
was so real.

"Look at the fool," I said, "in the
middle of the bridge like that," a very
womanly remark.

Then we heard the meaning of the noise
of metal on a concrete bridge at 50
miles an hour, and the far left lane
filled up with a big car that had a
motorcycle jammed on its front bumper, like
the whole thing would explode, the friction
sparks shot up bright orange for many feet into
into the air, and the racket still sets
my teeth on edge.

When the car stopped we stopped parallel
and Wendy headed for the callbox while I
ducked across those 6 lanes like a mouse
in the bowling alley. "Are you hurt?" I said,
the middle-aged driver had the greyest black face,
"I couldn't stop, I couldn't stop, what happened?"

Then I remembered. "Somebody," I said, "was on
the motorcycle." I ran back,
one block? two blocks? the space for walking
on the bridge is maybe 18 inches, whoever
engineered this arrogance/in the dark
stiff wind it seemed I would
by pushed over the rail, would fall down
screaming onto the hard surface of
the bay, but I did not/ I found the tall young man
who thought he owned the bridge, now lying on
his stomach, head cradled in his broken arm.

He had glasses on, but somewhere he had lost
most of his levis, where were they?
and his shoes. Two short cuts on his buttocks,
that was the only mark except his thin white
seminal tubes were all strung out behind, no
child left in him; and he looked asleep.

I plucked wildly at his wrist, then put it
down; there were two long haired women
holding back traffic just behind me
with their bare hands, the machines came
down like mad bulls, I was scared, much
more than usual, I felt easily squished
like the earthworms crawling on a busy
sidewalk after the rain, I wanted to
leave. And met the driver, walking back.

"The guy is dead." I gripped his hand,
the wind was going to blow us off the bridge.
"Oh my God," he said, "haven't I had enough
trouble in my life?" He raised his head,
and for a second was enraged and yelling,
at the top of the bridge — "I was just driving
home!" His head fell down. "My God, and
now I've killed somebody."

I looked down at my own peacoat and levis,
then over at the dead man's friend, who
was bawling and blubbing, what they would
call hysteria in a woman. "It isn't possible"
he wailed, but it was possible, it was
indeed, accomplished and unfeeling; snoring
in its peacoat, and without its levis on.

He died laughing: that's a fact.



I had a woman waiting for me,
in her car and in the middle of the bridge,
I'm frightened, I said.
I'm afraid, he said, stay with me,
please don't go, stay with me, be
my witness — "No," I said, "I'll be your
witness — later," and I took his name
and number, "but I can't stay with you,
I'm too frightened of the bridge, besides
I have a woman waiting
and no licence —
and no tail lights —"
So I left —
as I have left so many of my lovers.

we drove home
shaking, Wendy's face greyer
than any white person's I have ever seen.
maybe he beat his wife, maybe he once
drove taxi, and raped a lover
of mine — how to know these things?
we do each other in, that's a fact.

who will be my witness?
death wastes our time with drunkenness
and depression
death, who keeps us from our
lovers.
he had a woman waiting for him,
I found out when I called the number
days later

"Where is he" she said, "he's disappeared."
"He'll be all right" I said, "we could
have hit the guy as easy as anybody, it
wasn't anybody's fault, they'll know that,"
women so often say dumb things like that,
they teach us to be sweet and reassuring,
and say ignorant things, because we don't invent
the crime, the punishment, the bridges.

that same week I looked into the mirror
and nobody was there to testify;
how clear, an unemployed queer woman
makes not witness at all,
nobody at all was there for
those two questions: what does
she do, and who is she married to?

I am the woman who stopped on the bridge
and this is the man who was there
our lovers teeth are white geese flying
above us, but we ourselves are
easily squished.

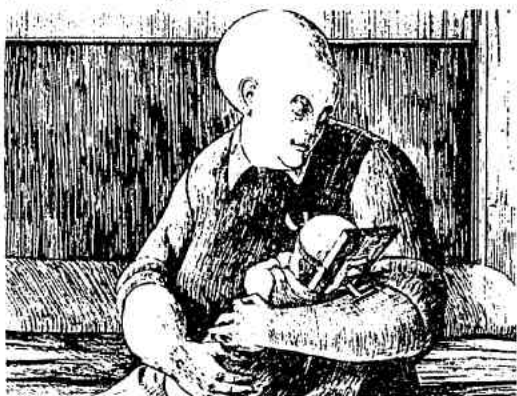
keep the women small and weak
and off the street, and off the
bridges, that's the way, brother
one day I will leave you there,
as I have left you there before,
working for death.

we found out later
what we left him to.
Six big policemen answered the call,
all white; and no child in them.
they put the drive up against his car
and beat the hell out of him.
What did you kill that poor kid for?
you mutherfucking nigger.
that's a fact.

Death only uses violence
when there is any kind of resistance,
the rest of the time a slow
weardown will do.
They took him to 4 different hospitals
till they got a drunk test report to fit their
case, and held him five days in jail
without a phone call.
how many lovers have we left.

There are as many contradictions to the game,
as there are players
a woman is talking to death,
though talk is cheap and life takes a long time
to make
right. He got a cheesy lawyer
who had him cop a plea, 15 to 20
instead of life
Did I say life?

the arrogant young man who thought he
owned the bridge, and fell asleep on it
he died laughing: that's a fact.
the driver sits out his time
off the street somewhere,
does he have the most vacant of
eyes, will he die laughing!



Two
They don't have to lynch the women any more

death sits on my doorstep
cleaning his revolver

death cripples my feet and sends me out
to wait for the bus alone,
then comes by driving a taxi.

the woman on our block with 6 young children
has the most vacant of eyes
death sits in her bedroom, loading
his revolver

they don't have to lynch the women
very often anymore, although
they used to — the lord and his men
went through the villages at night, beating
killing every woman caught
outdoors.

the European witch trials took away
the independent people; two different villages
— after the trials were through that year —
had left in them, each —
one living woman:
one

What were those other women up to? had they
run over someone? stopped on the wrong bridge?
did they have teeth like
any kind of geese, or children
in them.?

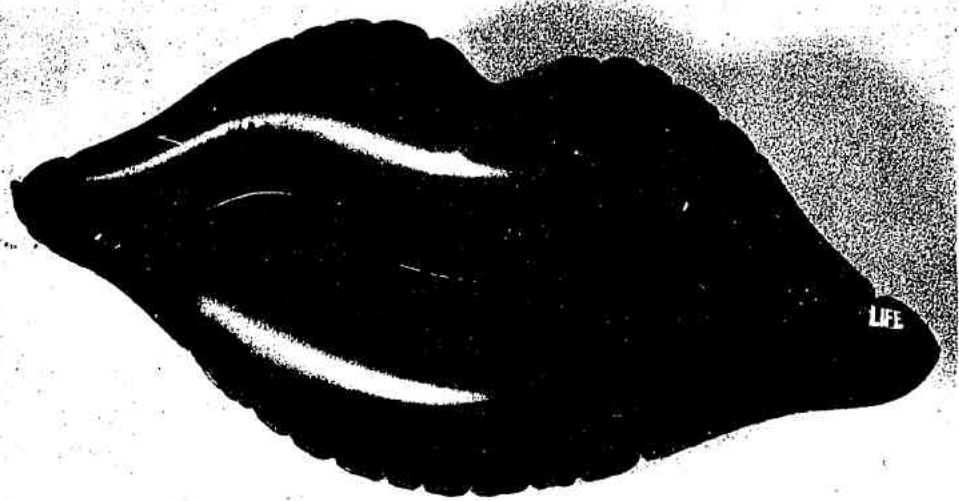


Three
This woman is a lesbian be careful

In the military hospital where I worked
as a nurse's aide, the walls of the halls
were lined with howling women
waiting to deliver
or to have some parts removed.
One of the big private rooms contained
the general's wife, who needed
a wart taken off her nose.
we were instructed to give her special attention
not because of her wart or her nose
but because of her husband, the general.

as many women as men die, and that's a fact.

At work there was one friendly patient, already
claimed, a young woman burnt apart with X-ray,
she had long white tubes instead of openings;
rectum, bladder, vagina — I combed her hair, it
was my job, but she took care of me as if
nobody's touch could spoil her.



ho ho death, ho death
have you seen the twinkle in the dead woman's eye?
when you are a nurse's aide
someone suddenly notices you
and yells about the patient's bed,
and tears the sheets apart so you
can do it over, and over
while the patient waits
doubled over in her pain
for you to make the bed *again*
and no one ever looks at you,
only at what you do not do

Here, general, hold this soldier's
bed pan
for a moment, hold it for a year
then we'll promote you to
making his bed.
we believe you wouldn't
make such messes
if you had to clean up
after them.
that's a fantasy.
this woman is a
lesbian, be careful.

When I was arrested and being thrown out
of the military, the order went out: don't anybody
speak to this woman, and for those three
long months, almost nobody did; the dayroom, when
I entered it, fell silent till I had gone; they
were afraid, they knew the wind would blow
them over the rail, the cops would come,
the water would run into their lungs.
Everything I touched
was spoiled. They were my lovers, those
women, but nobody had taught us to swim.
I drowned, I took 3 or 4 others down
when I signed the confession of what we
had done together.

No one will ever speak to me again.

I read this somewhere; I wasn't there:
in WW II the US army had invented some floating
amphibian tanks, and took them over to
the coast of Europe to unload them,
the landing ships all drawn up in a fleet,
and everybody watching. Each tank had a
crew of 6 and there were 25 tanks.
The first went down the landing planks
and sank, the second, the third, the
fourth, the fifth, the sixth went down
and sank. They weren't supposed
to sink, the engineers had
made a mistake. The crews looked around
wildly for the order to quit,
but none came, and in the sight of
thousands of men, each 6 crewmen
saluted his officers, battened down
his hatch in turn and drove into the
sea, and drowned, until all 25 tanks
were gone. Did they have vacant
eyes, die laughing, or what? what
did they talk about, those men,
as the water came in?
was the general their lover?

Four
A Mock Interrogation

Have you ever held hands with a woman?

Yes, many times — women about to deliver, women
about to have breasts removed, miscarriages, women
having epileptic fits; having asthma, cancer, women
have breast bone marrow sucked out of them by
nervous or indifferent interns, women with heart
conditions, who were vomiting, over-dosed, depressed,
drunk, lonely to the point of extinction: women
who had been run over, beaten up, deserted, starved,
women who had been bitten by rats; and women who
were happy, who were celebrating, who were dancing
with me in large circles or alone, women who were
climbing mountains or up and down walls, or trucks or
roofs and needed a boost up; or I did; women who
simply wanted to hold my hand because they liked
me, some women who wanted to hold my hand
because they liked me better than anyone. These
were many women?

Yes, many.

What about kissing? Have you kissed any women?

I have kissed many women.

When was the first woman you kissed with serious
feeling?

the first woman I kissed was Josie, who I had loved at
such a distance for months. Josie was not only beautiful,
she was tough and handsome too. Josie had black
hair and white teeth and strong brown muscles. Then
she dropped out of school unexplained. When she came
back she came back for one day only, to finish the
term, and there was a child in her. She was all shame,
pain and defiance. Her eyes were dark as the water
under a bridge and no one would talk to her, they
laughed and threw things at her. In the afternoon I
walked across the front of the class and looked deep
into Josie's eyes and I picked up her chin with my
hand, because I loved her, because nothing like her
trouble would ever happen to me, because I hated it
that she was pregnant and unhappy, and an outcast.
We were thirteen.
You didn't kiss her?
How does it feel to be thirteen and having a baby?
You didn't actually kiss her?
Not in fact.



You have kissed other women?

Yes, many, some of the finest women I know, I have
kissed. Women who were lonely, women I didn't know
and didn't want to, but kissed because that was a way
to say yes we are still alive and loveable, though separate,
women who recognized a loneliness in me,
women who were hurt, I confess to kissing the top of
a 55 year old woman's head in the snow in Boston,
who was hurt more deeply than I have ever been
hurt, and I wanted her as a very few people have
wanted me — I wanted her and me to own and control
and run the city we lived in, to staff the hospital I
knew would mistreat her, to drive the transportation
system that had betrayed her, to patrol the streets
controlling the men who would murder or disfigure or
disrupt us, not accidentally with machines but on
purpose, because we are not allowed out on the street
alone —

Have you ever committed any indecent acts with
women?

Yes, many. I am guilty of allowing suicidal women to
die before my eyes or in my ears or under my hands
because I thought I could do nothing, I am guilty of
leaving a prostitute who held a knife to my friend's
throat to keep us from leaving, because we would
not sleep with her, we thought she was old and
fat and ugly; I am guilty of not loving her who needed
me; I regret all the women I have not slept with or
comforted, who pulled themselves away from me for
lack of something I had not the courage to fight for,
for us, our life, our planet, our city, our meat and
potatoes, our love. These are indecent acts, lacking
courage, lacking a certain fire behind the eyes, which
is the symbol, the raised fist, the sharing of resources,
the resistance that tells death he will starve for lack of
the fat of us, our extra. Yes I have committed acts of
indecentcy with women and most of them were acts
of omission. I regret them bitterly.

PAGE 13

Five
Bless this day oh cat our house

"I was allowed to go
3 places, growing up," she said
"3 places, no more.
there was a straight line from my house
to school, a straight line from my house
to church, a straight line from my house
to the corner store."
her parents thought something might happen to her,
but nothing ever did
my lovers teeth are white geese flying above me.
my lovers muscles are rope ladders under my hands
we are the river of life and the fat of the land
death, do you tell me I cannot touch this woman
if we use each other up
on each other
that's a little bit less for you
a little bit less for you,
ho ho death.

Bless this day oh cat our house
help me be not such a mouse
death tells the woman to stay home
and then breaks in the window

I read this somewhere
In feudal Europe, if a woman committed adultery
her husband would sometimes tie her
down, catch a mouse and trap it
under a cup on her bare belly, until
it gnawed itself out, now are you
afraid of mice?

Six
Dressed as I am, a young man once called
me names in Spanish

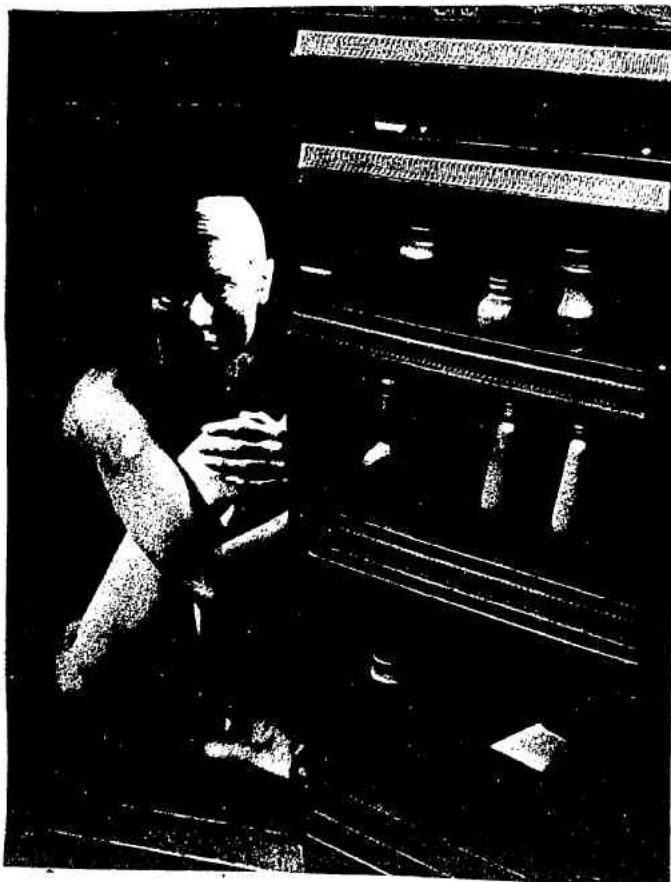
a woman who talks to death
is a dirty traitor

inside a hamburger joint and
dressed as I am, a young man once called me
names in Spanish
then he called me queer and slugged me.
first I thought the ceiling had fallen down
but there was the counterman making a ham
sandwich, and there was I spread out on his
counter.

For God's sake I said when
I could talk, this guy is beating me up
can't you call the police or something,
can't you stop him? he looked up from
working on his sandwich, which was *my*
sandwich, I had ordered it. He liked
the way I looked. "There's a pay phone
right across the street" he said.

I couldn't listen to the Spanish language
for weeks afterward, without feeling the
most murderous of urges, the simple
association of one thing to another,
so damned simple.

The next day I went to the police station
to become an outraged citizen
Six big policemen stood in the hall,
all white and dressed as they do
they were well pleased with my story, pleased
at what had gotten beat out of me, so
I left them laughing, went home fast
and locked my door.
For several nights I fantasized the scene
again, this time grabbing a chair
and smashing it over the bastard's head,
killing him. I called him a spick, and
killed him, my face healed, his didn't
no child in me.



Now when I remember I think:
Maybe he was Josie's baby.
all the chickens come home to roost.
all of them.

Seven
Death and disfiguration.

One Christmas eve my lovers and I
we left the bar, driving home slow
there was a woman lying in the snow
by the side of the road. She was wearing
a bathrobe and no shoes, where were
her shoes? she had turned the snow
pink, under her feet. she was an Asian
woman, didn't speak much English, but
she said a taxi driver beat her up
and raped her, throwing her out of his
car.
what on earth was she doing there
on a street she helped to pay for
but doesn't own?
doesn't she know to stay home?

I am a pervert, therefore I've learned
to keep my hands to myself in public
but I was so drunk that night,
I actually did something loving
I took her in my arms, this woman,
until she could breathe right, and
my friends who are perverts too
they touched her too
we all touched her.
"You're going to be all right"
we lied. She started to cry
"I'm 55 years old" she said
and that said everything.

Six big policemen answered the call
no child in them.
they seemed afraid to touch her,
then grabbed her like a corpse and heaved her
on their metal stretcher into the van,
crashing and clumsy.
She was more frightened than before.
they were cold and bored.
'don't leave me' she said.
'she'll be all right' they said.
we all left, as we have left all of our lovers
as all lovers leave all lovers
much too soon to get the real loving done.

Eight
a mock interrogation.

Why did you get into the cab with him
dressed as you are?
I wanted to go somewhere.

Did you know what the cab driver might do
if you got into the cab with him?

I just wanted to go somewhere.

How many times did you
get into the cab with him?

I don't remember.

If you don't remember,
how do you know it happened to you?

Nine
hey you death

ho and ho poor death
our lovers teeth are white geese flying above us
our lovers muscles are rope ladders under our hands
even though no women yet go down to the sea in ships
except in their dreams.

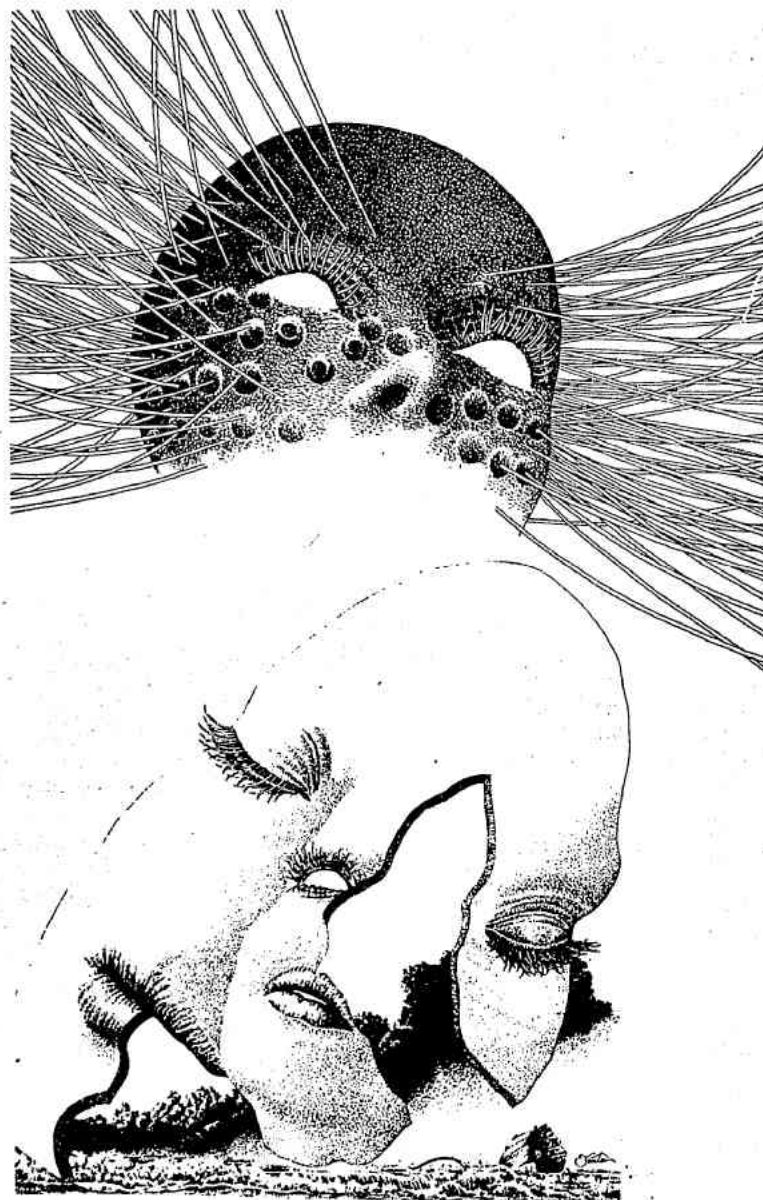
only the arrogant invent a quick and meaningful end
for themselves, of their own choosing.
everyone else knows how very slow it happens
how the woman's existence bleeds out her years,
how the child shoots up at ten and is arrested and old
how the man carries a murderous shell within him
and passes it on.

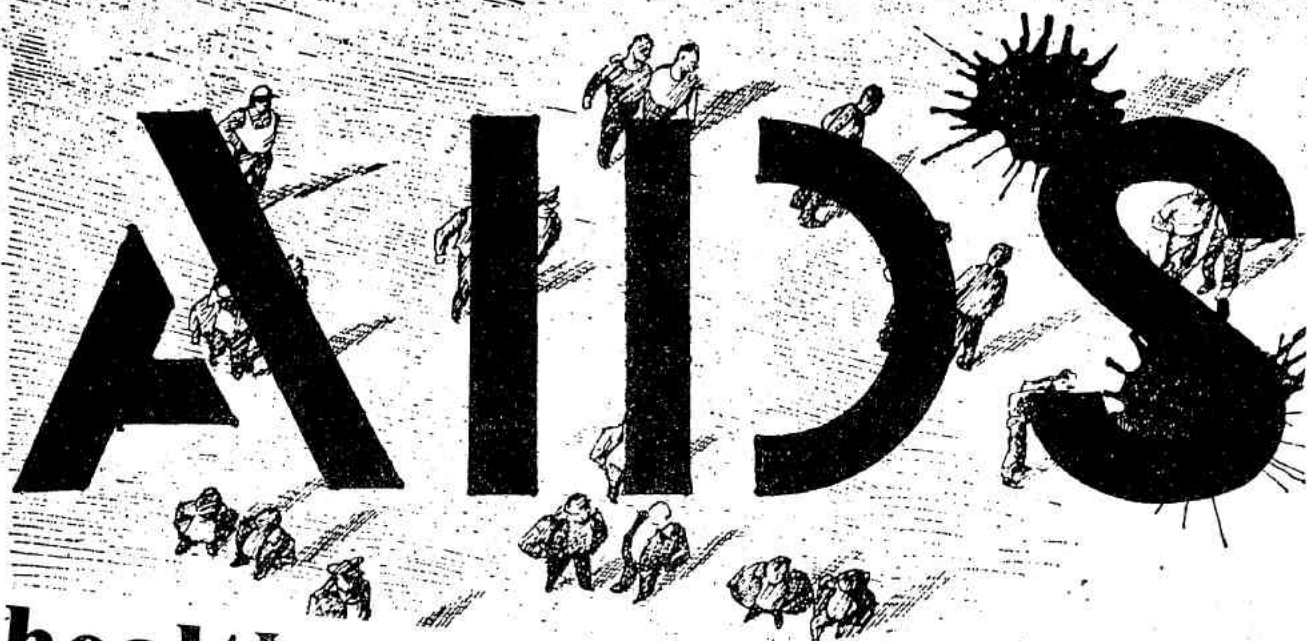
we are the fat of the land and
we all have our list of casualties

to my lovers I bequeath
the rest of my life

I want nothing left of me for you, ho death
except some fertilizer
for the next batch of us
who do not hold hands with you
who do not embrace you
who try not to work for you
or sacrifice themselves or trust
or believe you, ho ignorant
death, how do you know
we happened to you?

wherever our meat hangs on our own bones
for our own use
your pot is so empty
death, ho death
you shall be poor.





health hazard or media mythology?

WHAT IS AIDS?

A simplistic answer to this question is that nobody knows. Simplistic, because although we can identify that somebody is suffering from it in its advanced stages, nobody knows how it is transmitted, or what its causes are, how to track down early symptoms, or how to prevent it.

AIDS stands for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. Simply stated, this means that it is something you get, not inherit; it's most important aspect is the partial or complete failure of the human immune system; and it is a syndrome, that is, not one disease but a progression or collection of diseases that become dangerous when the immune defence system is weakened.

The most common manifestations of AIDS are two usually benign diseases, known as Kaposi's sarcoma (KS) and Pneumocystis carinii pneumonia (PCP). They are usually harmlessly present in the body micro-organisms in most peoples' bodies, but these are held in check by the immune system. However, when this breaks down, KS and PCP are often the "first in", that is, are among the first diseases to take advantage of the body's low resistance. They are known for this reason as opportunistic diseases.

Neither of them are new, although both are rare, along with the dozen or so other diseases that some AIDS sufferers have caught. KS is a form of soft-tumour cancer under the skin, that can progress rapidly to internal organs in AIDS patients. It appears first as blue or purple lesions under the skin of legs or feet, and has proved fatal in 21% of cases. PCP is a rare form of pneumonia, its first symptoms being a persistent dry cough, accompanied by shortness of breath after physical effort. The fatality rate for PCP has been 44%. Over the last two years, over 1500 people have been diagnosed as suffering from AIDS, mainly in the US but about a hundred cases in Europe. In the US, the mortality rate for KS, PCP and other AIDS related diseases has been 550 out of 1450 or about 37%.

In addition to AIDS proper, another condition has been recently defined, called AIDS prodrome. This means that it is not yet the AIDS syndrome, but may lead up to it. Common symptoms are persistently swollen lymph glands in the neck, groin and armpits, persistent or undulating fever, fatigue, weight loss or night sweats. The problem with prodrome is that these are very common complaints, easily misinterpreted, misdiagnosed, or not reported. It is not known how widespread AIDS prodrome is.

However, one common feature of AIDS prodrome and AIDS is a similar measurable effect on the body's immune system. More specifically, both conditions share a marked imbalance in the ratio between

two types of white blood cells, called T-lymphocytes, which help govern the body's response to bacteriological and viral infection. There are two types of T-lymphocytes, (or T-cells) — called T-helper and T-suppressor cells. The ratio between the two types controls the reaction to infection, between the extremes of over-reaction and under-response. Whereas the healthy normal average ratio between T-helper and T-suppressor cells is 2:1, in AIDS patients AIDS prodrome sufferers and in so-called 'promiscuous' men and women, it can range anywhere down to 0.1:1, that is, indicating a very low level of defence (see graph). On the other hand, it is important to note that a low T-cell ration is not believed to be a reliable indicator of AIDS, and it is not established that prodrome is actually a precursor of AIDS. There is far less evidence to indicate that 'promiscuity' causes AIDS.

WHO IS AT RISK? HOW DO PEOPLE GET AIDS?

Over the two years that AIDS has been monitored closely, the largest single group of patients are gay men, making up 71% of the cases in the US. The next biggest group has been regular heterosexual users of intravenous drugs, both men and women, constituting 17% of all cases. The third largest group of sufferers are Haitians who have migrated to the US, making up 5% of the sample. The final 7% have been miscellaneous hemophiliacs, congenital and newly born children of AIDS sufferers or people receiving large amounts of blood, and heterosexual men. Most cases have occurred in American cities with high population density, like New York, San Francisco, Houston and Chicago.

The incidence of AIDS in apparently 100% heterosexual men and some women has caused particular concern, especially in elements of the establishment media and medical profession, which we'll examine a bit later on. However, this has fuelled wild speculations about the danger of bisexuals 'spreading' the syndrome to the straight world, which is about as medically convincing as the rumour that AIDS originated as a Haitian voodoo curse. There is simply not enough data to be able to say with any certainty who is at risk, or how people contract the syndrome. All that we can offer is unconfirmed speculation and guesses.

There have been many hypotheses about how AIDS can be 'caught' — some of them quite homophobic and unjustifiable. One of the better articulated and more plausible ideas is that the syndrome

is caused by a virus transmitted by body fluids, for instance during sex or blood transfusion. This transmission is not believed to happen every time there is exchange of fluids, but only sometimes. Furthermore, it is suggested that the agent is a 'slow virus', which takes anywhere between 3 and 24 months after transmission before it starts making itself known. This would make it exceptionally hard to trace who or where it came from. The problem with the virus explanation is that nobody has identified it; nor has anyone succeeded in culturing AIDS virus, if it exists, from the blood of human patients into experimental test animals.

The second main explanation is the 'overload theory'. In simple terms, it states that the immune system of AIDS patients have been over-stressed by repeated VD infections, drug use or semen intake, to a point where its function is impaired. 'Promiscuity' has been linked to AIDS this way; the idea is supported by data about T-cell imbalances (see graph). However, this hypothesis cannot adequately explain the incidence of AIDS in monogamous gays, newborn babies or Haitian families.

What does all this mean? Just about the only advice that can be given is that one can possibly reduce one's chances of getting AIDS by reducing one's number of different sexual contacts. It is exceptionally important to bear in mind that there is no known way to totally eliminate the chances of getting AIDS, and there is no real evidence to prove that you can get it through sexual contact. For all we know, it could be caused by some completely overlooked environmental factor that just happens to be coincidentally associated with gays, Haitians and intravenous drug users.

Over the last few months, AIDS is finally becoming the media issue that it should have been over two years ago, when there had already been thirty deaths. If present trends continue, there will have been 4300 deaths by the end of the year, and 20,000 by the end of 1984. However, the mainstream media reaction has been misleading and unjustifiably alarmist, reflecting the ignorance and occasional homophobia of writers, editors and big-name publishers.

In this issue, we'll be trying to counter some of this by drawing from the gay media and using the latest findings in respected medical journals like "The Lancet". The situation is constantly changing; by the time you read this you will probably be reading news and information that is several weeks or a month old.

The issues we are presenting are of relevance not only to gay men, but to the whole community. AIDS is not confined to any one sector; the political ramifications are important to us all, and they need to be opened up. We'll start by looking at the medical side, then more on to wider social issues that are equally concerning.

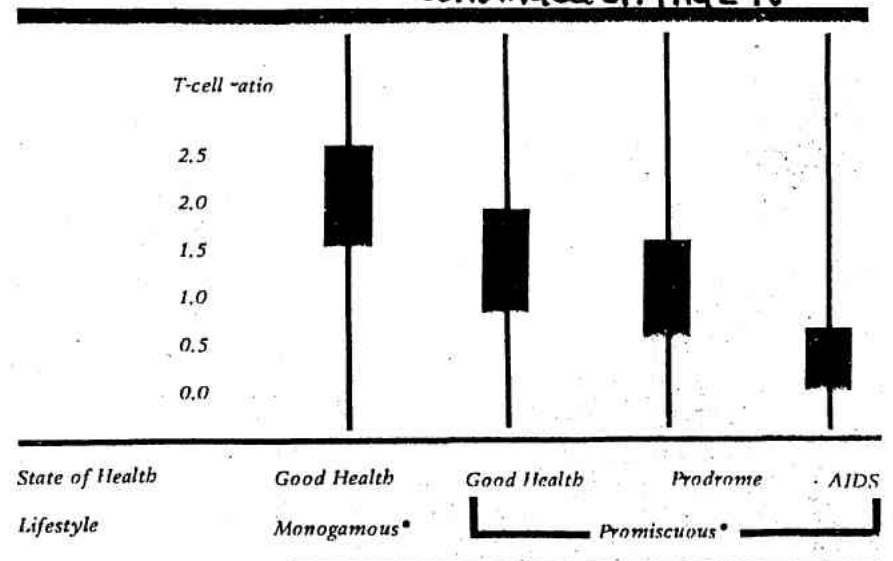
HOW CAN AIDS BE TREATED

Just as we know next to nothing about the prevention of AIDS, we know even less about how to treat people with AIDS or AIDS prodrome. There have been various 'cures' suggested and tried out, although not one has shown significant or conclusive results. It is not simply enough to stop AIDS related diseases like KS or PCP; sooner or later, some disease will overtake a dangerously suppressed or retarded immune system. Although limited trials have been conducted using interferon (a natural human substance that affects the immune system) and plasmaphoresis (pumping out and cleansing the patient's blood), only minor success with a few AIDS diseases has been reported in apparently arresting their development in some volunteers. To all intents and purposes, AIDS is at present incurable.

WHY DO WE KNOW SO LITTLE?

It would be easy to dismiss this question by answering that AIDS is a very hard syndrome to understand. However, to say that would be to ignore tremendously significant political realities in the Western world and in the US in particular. What is needed is an immediate, all-out research effort by the medical establishment in co-operation with the gay community, funded by national and state governments. What has actually happened over the last two years is pitiful, amazing and yet somehow predictable; up to now, only about US\$5 million has been granted in the US to research bodies and far less in other countries.

Continued on PAGE 18



* This study defines 'promiscuous' as meaning more than 50 new sexual partners per year, and 'monogamous' as having a single partner for at least five years. Normal T-cell ratio = 2.0.

The Executive Producer
'60 Minutes'

Dear Sir/Madam

Appalling, frightening, shocking. No, not AIDS but your report on it.

From your opening words (two errors of fact and one piece of emotive nonsense in four words isn't bad!) to your closing inaccuracy, your report was hysterical, shallow and frequently simply wrong. (I've detailed a few of the more glaring errors on another page.)

AIDS is simply too important to be fobbed off with fifteen minutes of trite media hype, much of it directed against gays. Nowhere in your report did you suggest that Haitians stop being Haitian or that hemophiliacs reduce the number of their sexual partners. But there were powerful negative implications against gays.

Perhaps we can look forward to the calm, accurate, informative programme that's so much needed on AIDS from the ABC or another commercial network. We clearly won't get it on '60 Minutes'.

And don't ever again refer to Paul Dexter of the one-man "Gay Liberation Army" as a 'gay community spokesman'. My understanding is that most gay organisations of significance in Sydney have advised you that Mr Dexter speaks for no-one but himself.

Yours faithfully

1 June, 1983.

60 MINUTES ON AIDS. THE CREATION OF MEDIA MYTHOLOGY

Two weekends before last, saw, we believe, one of the most misleading, unfair, shallow and alarmist pieces of journalism seen for a long time on Australian television. The show featured a shocked-sounding, mock-faced Jana Wendt, ruthlessly interviewing AIDS sufferers about their life expectancy and statements by a Paul Dexter (who is the self-styled leader of the Gay Liberation Army, a group consisting entirely of himself), who was presented as a gay community spokesman. But the words speak for themselves. Here we have cut out some examples of "serious" reporting from a transcript of the program. Also reproduced is the reply made by the producer of the show to a letter sent by an angry viewer (name deleted). It is apparent that Gerald Stone is unable to answer the criticisms made, and only avoids and misrepresents the issues in his reply.

'60 Minutes' on AIDS

OVERLY AND UNJUSTIFIABLY EMOTIVE TERMS USED THROUGHOUT THE 'STORY' (sic)

weird	(3 times)
mutant	wrong
plague/deadlier than the plague	(3 times)
panic	
uncontrollable plague	
terror/terrifying/terrible	(3 times) *
unspeakable horrors*	
wrath of god	one small group of hospital workers call AIDS this - no-one else; certainly the gay community doesn't
decimated	literally, to kill one in ten. With an estimated gay male population of 10,000,000 the US would have to have <u>one million</u> of them dead from AIDS for your claim to be true. The actual figure is around 600. "
epidemic	This word again has a precise medical meaning. To misuse it like this is sloppy journalism.
bizarre/dreadful	Borderline.
desperate urgency	These are health professionals. How about "swift" or "professional" or "hard working" or "concerned"?
Gay people should reduce the number of their sexual partners	Why not Haitians, hemophiliacs and the several other "at risk" populations?
natural disaster/most horrific international disaster of this century/worse than the wars*	

* Stated by Dexter and thus easily dismissable had he not been introduced as a gay community spokesman and presented as the 'only' Australian such.

Page 16

60 minutes

3 June, 1983

Dear

In your intensive effort to pick out faults in our story you may not have noticed what so many others did notice and wrote to us about - that it was the first serious attempt to describe the problem of AIDS to a mass audience in Australia and to put this problem in perspective - mainly that it should be of concern to the whole community, not just homosexuals.

I think the thought process behind your letter can be summed up neatly in your criticism of our use of Paul Dexter. It seems to me the only pertinent point is whether he was speaking the truth - or perhaps you disagree with his statement that AIDS is a community problem that needs more attention from the government in terms of research needed to find a cure.

In brief, after receiving comments like yours, I can see how lobby groups and special interest groups are their own worst enemies - they would rather have everything their way than anything at all.

Cordially yours,


Gerald Stone,
Executive Producer.

The Nine Network Australia
TCN Channel 9 Pty Ltd, P.O. Box 27, Willoughby, NSW 2068, Australia
Studios and Transmitter: 24 Artarmon Road, Willoughby, NSW
Telephone (02) 430444. Telex AA20689. Telegrams DIFFUSION Sydney

'60 Minutes' on AIDS

FACTUAL ERRORS

'60 Minutes' Claim

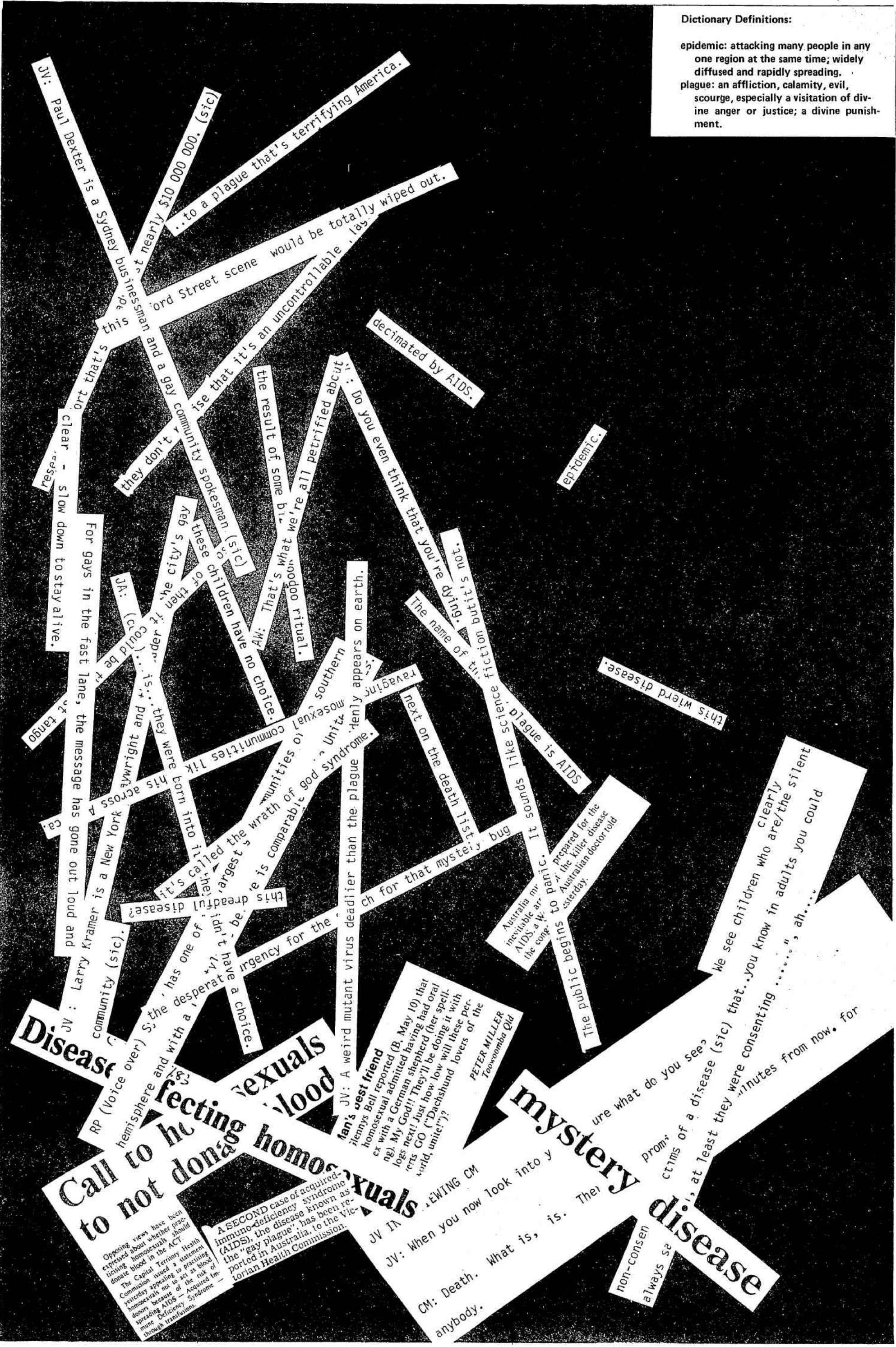
Comment

Use of the word "disease" throughout	Wrong. There is an important distinction between a disease and a syndrome - AIDS is the latter. It's more than a semantic quibble - check with your medical research people.
mutant virus	mutant - garbage. Virus - we simply don't know.
deadlier than the plague	Check your stats. If this absurd claim were true there'd be considerably more than 600 dead and an estimated double that number with AIDS.
more contagious than hepatitis	Unproven.
Larry Kramer introduced as a "leader" of New York's gay community	Wrong. Kramer has in fact been strongly criticised by important gay groups in New York and elsewhere for his hyperbolic comments on AIDS.
...At one stage it was believed that AIDS originated here (Haiti)	In fact the Haitian connection is <u>still</u> an important theory.
Research, specifically on AIDS amounting to \$10 000 000	Really? Evidence?
Viscious editing of CDC's James Curran so that he refers in rapid succession to samples of 19 people, 13 people and 40 people	Why can't we hear him speak for himself? Why are you fudging the figures?
Use of "spread" throughout.	Syndrome being found in San Francisco, then New York then elsewhere does not necessarily mean a "spread" in that or any other direction. It simply means that with more knowledge and awareness, cases of the syndrome were found in those places, in that order.
Paul Dexter introduced as a gay community spokesman.	To extrapolate from that a "spread" is sloppy journalism. It's my understanding that all media have had explained to them that Paul Dexter speaks for no-one but himself, ie the total membership of his "gay Liberation Army".

Dictionary Definitions:

epidemic: attacking many people in any one region at the same time; widely diffused and rapidly spreading.

plague: an affliction, calamity, evil, scourge, especially a visitation of divine anger or justice; a divine punishment.



JV: Paul Dexter is a Sydney businessman and a gay community spokesman who would be totally wiped out. ..to a plague that's terrifying America.

For gays in the fast lane, the message has gone out loud and clear - slow down to stay alive.

JV: Larry Kramer is a New York playwright and actor who has one of the most important messages for the gay community (sic).

Call to he...
RP (Voice over) ...hemisphere and with a ...

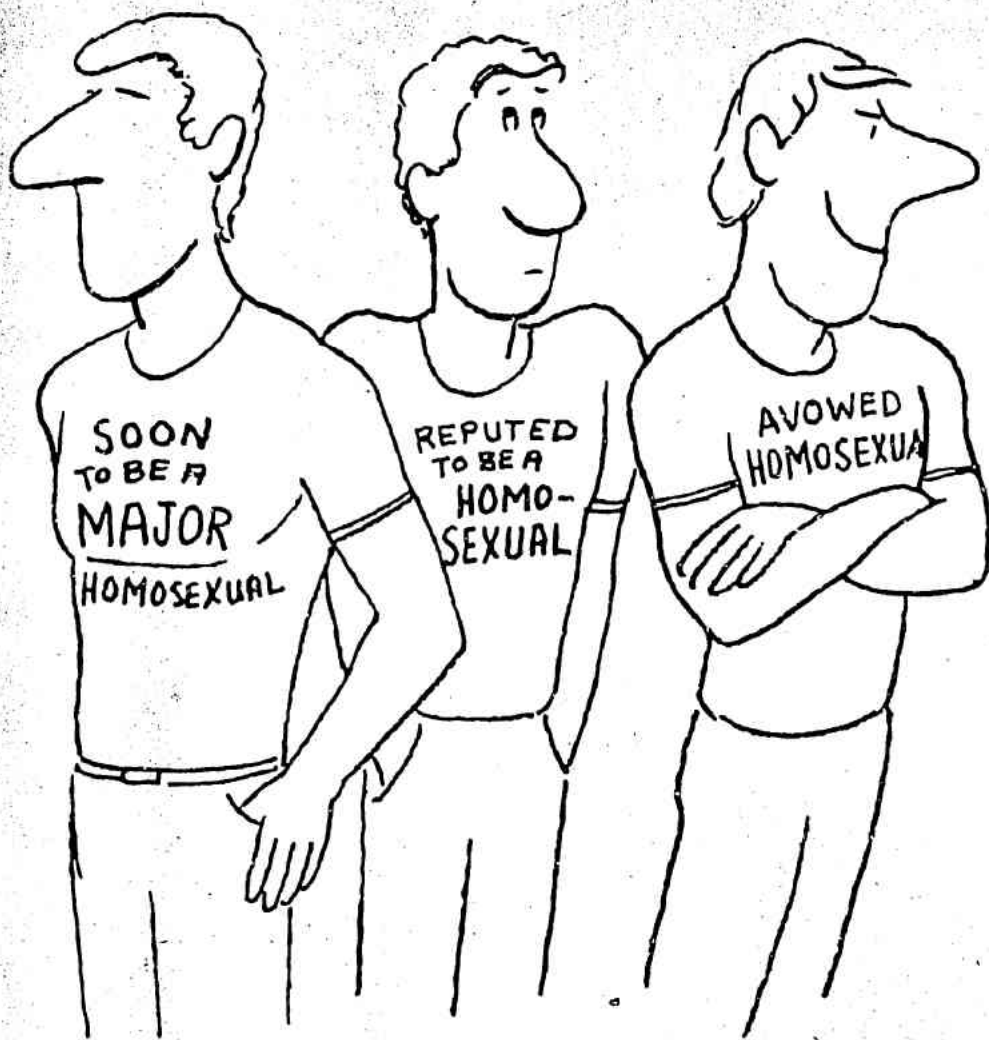
Opposing views have been expressed about whether practicing homosexuals should donate blood in the ACT. The Capital Territory Health Commission issued a statement yesterday appealing to practicing homosexuals not to get at blood donor because of the risk of spreading AIDS - Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome through transfusions.

A SECOND case of acquired-immuno-deficiency syndrome (AIDS), the disease known as the "gay plague", has been reported in Australia, to the Victorian Health Commission.

JV: A weird mutant virus deadlier than the plague ravaging southern communities of the United States has been reported in Australia. It sounds like science fiction but it's not. The name of the ravaging mutant virus is AIDS. It sounds like science fiction but it's not. The name of the ravaging mutant virus is AIDS. It sounds like science fiction but it's not. The name of the ravaging mutant virus is AIDS.

mystery disease
CM: Death. What is, is. Then anybody. non-consensual always se

We see children who are clearly the silent victims of a disease (sic) that...you know in adults you could see minutes from now, for



Contrast that to last year's Tylenol scare, when in the first two weeks the US government gave \$10 million for a crash research program; or Legionnaires' Disease, which killed 29 men in 1976 and attracted an even larger response in its first weeks. One could go on to list the recent swine flue epidemic, toxic shock syndrome . . . not that these emergencies didn't deserve the response they got, but AIDS may be more dangerous than any of them in the next few years.

At this moment, the US National Institutes of Health, with a budget of US\$4 billion, has been requested for \$55 million immediate AIDS research funding, but has still not released the \$5 million they eventually promised to at the beginning of the year. Just one of the results of this starvation of funds is that many hospitals and research foundations have run out of money for AIDS projects. Important research efforts have had to be abandoned in some hospitals; others have been put under severe strain.

With the refusal of the US government to continue AIDS funding in significant amounts, the gay community has responded by setting up its own health and information centres for suspecting AIDS or AIDS prodrome sufferers. One example of this is Gay Men's Health Crisis, in New York, which has over 300 people working to publicise, lobby, finance and inform people about AIDS as well as supporting sufferers and their friends, lovers and families. In Australia, gay people are starting to set up networks and bodies with similar aims, with hardly any public funding, preparing for the years ahead.

The main reason for the lack of government support has been, and still is, that until recently, nearly all AIDS sufferers have been gay men. In an intensely homophobic culture, it is no surprise that the needs of gay people have been largely ignored by its main institutions. Only recently, with fears that the syndrome might start appearing in the heterosexual electorate, has there been any significant media attention devoted to AIDS.

To exemplify this point, during the last week of April local radio station 2CC carried a news bulletin asserting that AIDS was communicable to heterosexual people via bisexuals, implying that it was only a gay phenomenon and apparently repeating 'advice' from a source in the Capital Territory Health Commission. The recent demand by a leading member of the ACT Family Team to ban a sex-education film for high-school students has been just as homophobic and misleading. Why? — because it 'advocated homosexuality as a valid lifestyle' and was claimed to be dangerous because of the AIDS 'epidemic'. Bev Cains said on a local ABC news bulletin that 'the film 'Brad' could be condemning children to an immature death'. The clear implication in these words is that a film can turn people into homosexuals, who would put others in danger because they carry AIDS. Not only is this plainly derogatory and false; it is also statements like this that threaten the gains gay men and lesbians have made over the years to be able to express our sexualities. It would seem that the current AIDS scare is being used by right-wing forces as a means to create homophobia in the community by deliberate and sensational spreading of misinformation. Perhaps the most extreme example of such tactics in Australia was a recent segment on the national television program 60 minutes

It is examples of these sort which show up the established media and governments for what they are. Apparently there is no real concern about the fate of gay subculture, until something like AIDS looks like posing a threat to white male heterosexual, middle-class society. At that point, the response has been, not to try to solve the problem but to sensationalize it and blame the original victims. This is why AIDS has been called 'God's Wrath', and other similar names that imply that alleged 'promiscuity' and 'unnatural desires' have caught up with gays, that there is no option but to return to christian homophobic 'morality'.

This sort of propaganda has found its mark not only amongst the general public, but in gay men themselves. Promiscuity, we are being told, is going out of fashion; monogamy is the answer to the new media menace. According to Michael Lynch writing in the Body Politic:

"This panic could never have set in so quickly and so deeply if within the hearts of gay men there weren't already a persistent, anti-sexual sense of guilt, ready to be tapped."

Lynch then goes on to introduce a larger more provocative issue:

"Another crisis co-exists with the medical one. It has gone largely unexamined, even by the gay press. Like helpless mice we have peremptorily, almost inexplicably, relinquished the one power we fought for so long in constructing our modern gay community: the power to determine our own identity. And to whom have we relinquished it? the very authority we wrested it from. . . . the medical profession.

[The medical moralists] seek to rip apart the very promiscuous fabric that knits the gay male community together and that, in its democratic anarchism, defies state regulation of our sexuality Gays are once again allowing the medical profession to define, restrict, pathologise us . . ."

The history behind Lynch's words is long and painful. For most of this century, known homosexuals were labelled inverts, deviant or sick by the medical profession and "treated" accordingly by incarceration, drugs, shock therapy and aversion therapy. Although these methods did not change homosexuals into heterosexuals, they did cause guilt, anguish and suffering in uncounted thousands. Small wonder that gays today are mistrustful of doctors — only in 1974 the American Psychiatric Association decided to declare homosexuality normal and in so doing, it is claimed "cured" millions of Americans in the space of a few minutes. Once again, the medical establishment is attempting to control sexuality by medical pronouncements, with no more evidence or sanity than earlier this century. Lynch's message is that some gays are looking to the medical profession for a fast cure, rather than to our gay brothers and sisters for support. We should not expect our historical oppressors to step out of their role and suddenly turn friend; we should not trust the declarations of most straight doctors who know little and care far less about AIDS than the gay community does. However, this does not mean that the gays should avoid doctors; rather, that we should scrutinize their statements and step carefully through the maze of medical mystification, while demanding immediate and adequate funding for AIDS research.

WHERE NOW?

In the coming months, more people will be diagnosed as AIDS sufferers in Australia and abroad. We can expect the medical and the political crises to deepen, creating more and more reasons for gays to get together and once again, fight those forces that challenge our existence.

But it's no longer just a gay issue. Not only do non-gays have AIDS; there are political implications for gays and straight alike. We could see a new wave of racism directed against Haiti and other Third World countries with a suspected AIDS problem. We could see the compulsory registration of homosexual men and women as public health risks (this has already been mooted), and it's only a small step from this to be the suspension of other civil liberties by crumbling reactionary governments looking for scapegoats and trying to impose their sexual and political order. Similarly, this century homophobia has traditionally been associated with fascism and war.

At the moment, it's mainly gays who are taking the initiatives in tackling this syndrome. There is a crying need for positive, factual and accessible information to be made available to the community at large. To start to answer this need locally, Gays on Campus, ACT Gay Contact, the ACT Gay Media Collective and other groups and individuals will be active on the issue in the future.

If you want to know more about AIDS, here are some ideas:

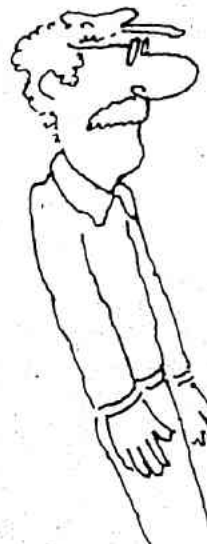
* On Tuesday evening, the 21st of June at 7.30pm Gays on Campus is holding a discussion seminar in the Bridge for gays and other concerned people about AIDS. There is no cost and wine and cheese is provided.

* Radio 2XX, 1008 kHz, will be having its annual Gay Day on 1 July between 4pm and 1am, with six hours of lesbian and gay male programming, including a section on AIDS

* Read the Gay Page each fortnight in Woroni for updated information on the syndrome.

* If you want to read more, there are a few excellent articles that have appeared recently on AIDS. The best is in OUTRAGE Vol.1, No. 3 available from the Union Shop and most newsagents in the city. Other good articles are to be found in recent issues of The Body Politic, especially the November 1982 edition. In general, the gay press, as opposed to the mainstream media, is a source of information, factual coverage on AIDS.

* If you want to get involved in disseminating unbiased, unsensational and non-homophobic information about AIDS, or you simply want to help in any way, contact Gays on Campus through the Students' Association, or come along to meetings at 1pm Tuesdays in the Counselling Centre. Alternatively, phone Gay Contact on 47 3032, Friday and Saturday evenings between 6.30 and 8.00 pm.



A KNOWN GAY STEREOTYPE MEETS AN UNKNOWN ONE. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN NOTIFIED.

Harriet the spy
Clivian the glandular
Infested boy
Roll up – roll up
See the
Glandular infested boy
Nights of the telly
And the captain
They console me
In my loneliness.

A girl loved a boy
For a day
But it didn't
Pay.

Julian Steward and
Leslie White
Are in my
Anthropology Book.
But do I understand?
Say goodbye to
Hollywood
We're at uni
Baby

I loved aqua man
(Lester Polyester)
But if Jimmy Buffet
Isn't famous yet
I think
Christie Allen
Is beginning to
Roll,
And probably at
midnight.

Signed a Teenager.

Friends or Lovers
(To T.C. Ashbey)

So you've found someone new
But lack the guts to tell the truth
Treachery and lies you must turn to

But why should I sulk
Or torture myself with the heartache
For memories can be created

Friends and bystanders said
I was being cruelly jilted
But what nonsense
We haven't even got started . . .
So how could we break up as *lovers*

We were merely *friends!*

P. Low

poems



December

I will sleep
in my little cup.

Ron Padgett
(2nd yr. Economics)

POEMS

Will Canberra
Ever
Excite me?

The other day
I turned
20
And my main aim
In my
Life
Is to
Get The
Famous Five
Series

Perhaps if I had worn
High heels
And sunglasses
And dangled my
Car keys
Under her nose
She wouldn't have
Asked
To
Check my bag.

Perhaps if I had
Worn pigtailed
And enjoyed
Rolling drunk in courtyards
At 3 am
And running up and
Down
Corridors screaming
"He threw wine at me"
(giggle, giggle)
I would have fitted into
College life
Better.

Sensitive

I carry the church on my back,
As a snail carries his house.
I coil up into prayer and observance,
As a snail escapes from the world
When his trembling horns are afraid.

– R.E. McArthur

"Wet Your Nostrils Tenderly"

Oh! Oh! My aching olfactory apparatus
Hot dry feverish rash ridden
Epidermal Martian landscape
Pock littered acne vulcanism
Coiled plaster of puss
And conjunctivated pussy juice jackals
Ooze in grotesque sculptures
Post nasal lava of molten mucous
Leave me be in my last hours
Of viral infestation.

Out of breath and out of mind
I shove my nostrils wet with
Nature's carnal juices into a
Light socket and die! die! die!
In electric convulsion.

Oh terminal high, precis of
Previous lifeways – posthumour peace
My mortal prognathous be,
But a brief pretentious fart
In the universe.

Thomas Heinsohn.



eco-ART

I have a feeling the time is ripe for a new art more deeply rooted in the Australian soil. Its popularity would rest on the rising wave of the environment movement, not with any cultural or economic elite. An art movement is needed to express the radically new ideas that have come out of the ecological movement.

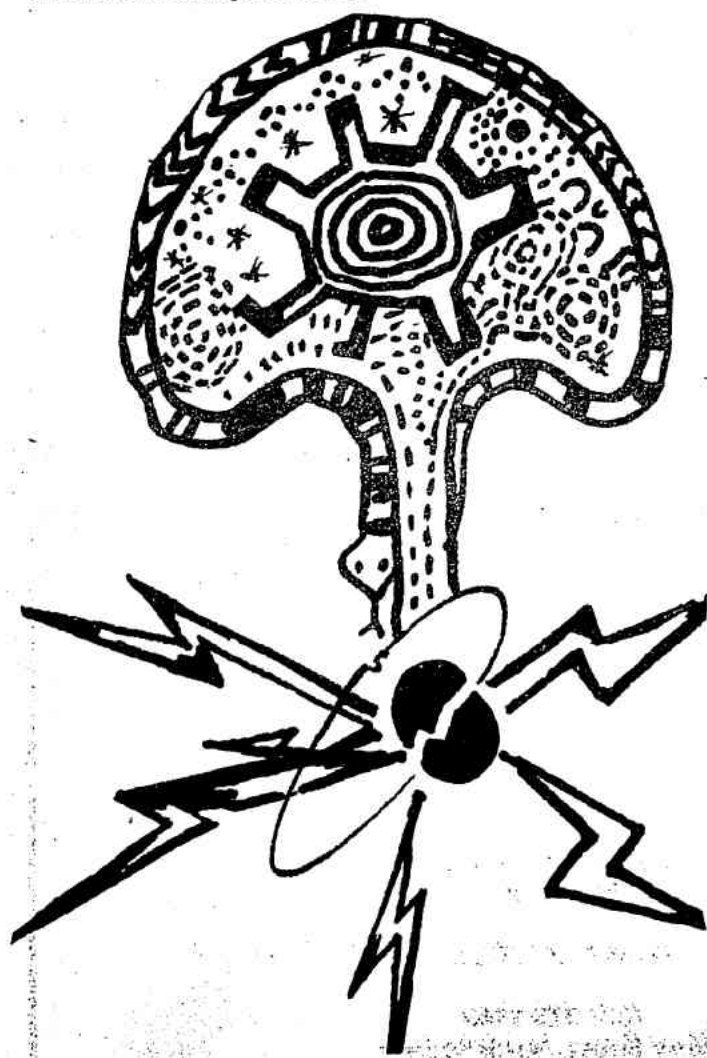
But why art? How can art be involved in a movement for social change? What has art got to do with the environment anyway? Perhaps I should describe the emergence of my own thinking on these questions. I have been interested for some time in art as a medium for political expression. In Perth, a couple of years ago, I was very inspired by an exhibition held by artists against uranium. It was a collection of works by a wide diversity of people, united by a common concern for the future well-being of the earth. It had the potential to be a powerful force in raising people's awareness about the implications of uranium mining in Australia. Many works of art expressed the feelings of Aborigines as regards uranium mining, since their relationship with the land was so clearly threatened.

Around this time I was doing some reading on art history from a Marxist perspective. The art that had come out immediately after the October Revolution in Russia excited me greatly because it was so innovative, socially committed and, what was most important, participative. People like Rodchenko, Kandinsky and others applied modern art everywhere they could; in theatre, architecture, advertising and industrial design. In an uncorrupted way, it was art for the masses, fueled by a powerful and often utopian idealistic vision, such as was to be later continued in the design school of the Bauhaus of pre-Nazi Germany.

The period in which such art flowered in Russia was short. An icy winter of Stalinist censorship set in. The legacy is with Eastern Europe even today; a grey socialist art in which individual aspirations are pre-empted by a kind of totalitarian sterile 'realism'.

It is not my idea of grass-roots participatory art, reflecting the needs and feelings of people.

I wrote down my ideas which a small anarchist group in Fremantle published for me. I also did some political collages and photomontages with themes ranging from anti-colonialism and liberation in the third world to Buddhist-Marxist interpretations of Nirvana. In my attempt to stimulate a more widespread socially committed art, I did not get far. In the Australian context, such ideas had outstandingly little impact. Only then did it begin to dawn on me that maybe I should start looking around me.



The visual impact of clearfelling in the Karri forest and Bauxite mining in the Jarrah forest left deep scars in my memory. On a moonlit night on a wheatbelt farm I found the bones of a sheep in the middle of a vast barren emptiness, and this too moved me in a way difficult to describe. It was in art that I felt I could begin to express the troubled feelings within myself. Art became an outlet for that part of me deeply disturbed by the spiritual implications of society's and my own alienation from the Australian land. I began to see art as a means of healing the distance between.

The next big catalyst came with the Tasmanian blockade. In prison at Risdon, I met an artist from Melbourne studying at the Preston Institute. He described how he had staged 'happenings' that happened to have a strong environmental message. One involved a stunt with a terrifying black balloon and himself in a gas mask — symbolising the horror of an atomic bomb explosion. In another theatrical performance he had staged the conversion of young tree seedlings into sawdust, and this came across as an indictment of woodchipping. It was modern art in the service of environmental commentary. I was inspired to dig deeper into the background of environmental art.

The words 'art' and 'environment' began to be seen together in the sixties with the advent of happenings. However, the link between the rising wave of environmentalism and modern art was often contradictory as I will try to show here.

'Environments' were works of art that could surround and perceptually engulf the viewer. Some could fit into a gallery as an art commodity. Some were room sculptures full of a fantastic and bewildering array of objects. One must remember that this was the time of the Apollo flights and the completely artificial environment of the rocket. It was in vogue to indulge in totally synthetic experiences. It was art and the controlled world.

There was, however, a distinct rebellion against the concept of art as commodity and some artists created works in the open air that would be impossible to keep, never mind sell. Christo was one artist who created such works as an enormous curtain of fabric across a Californian valley. Christo is relevant in the Australian scene for his packaging of a mile of Australian coastline with a million square feet of polythene sheeting and thirty-five miles of rope! Such environmental art would hardly be called ecological in its extravagant consumption of processed materials.

In fact, many related artists seem to be working within and even taking inspiration from the consumer capitalist society. The work of such famous artists as Andy Warhol or Yves Klein offers no criticism of the status quo, only a kind of liberated indulgence. Nothing remains of the socially radical framework which supports the nihilism of Dada and Surrealism.

The growing ecological awareness of the sixties and seventies may be seen as a striving to harmonise the gap between society and nature. The new philosophy stated that there should not be a disjunction between consumption and excretion. What were the responses of artists to this?

Ecological art, eco-art or thermostat art as it may sometimes be called has had such practitioners as Luis F. Benedict, Robert Irwin, David Medalla, Charles Ross and Peter Hutchinson amongst others. They may be called artists engaged in a dialogue with nature because often they used natural forces, such as fire, wind, water and animals to help create their art. There was an acknowledgement of the cyclical processes of the environment. Two self imposed restraints on much of this type of art was firstly, a minimum of interference by humans and secondly, the stringent and parsimonious use of materials.

However, not all artists concerned with the environment shared the above-mentioned restraints. Hans Haake and Alan Sonfist were two artists whose work sometimes involved a degree of technological sophistication. This attribute of such art may be illustrated by Newton Harrison's 'Portable Fish Farm 1971' which was to involve the electrocution of catfish. This work rightly caused an outcry with anti-cruelty organisations!

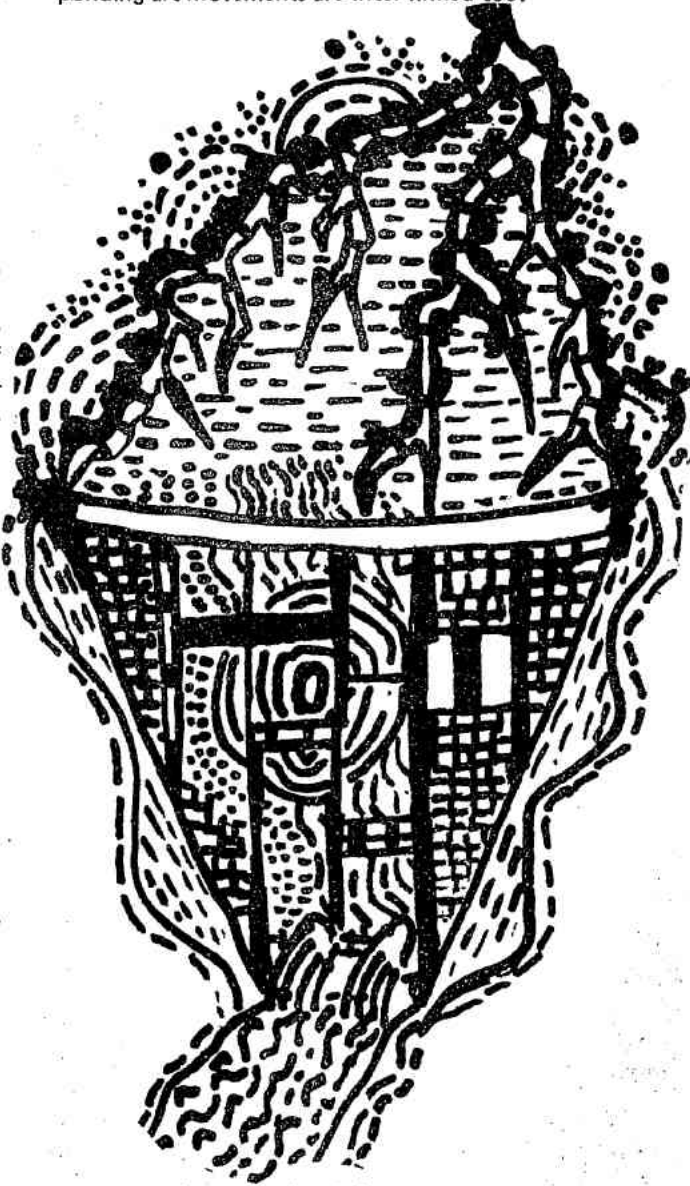
It was the technical component of Alan Sonfist's art that was sometimes criticised as being part and parcel of technomania, rather than subversive to it. It was accused of being scientifically simplistic and aesthetically dull. It was suggested that the displaying of growing crystals, locusts, crawling snails and canvas moulds did not really contribute to a deeper ecological awareness. In reply to this it was said that symbolic art could penetrate deeper into social consciousness than could mere propaganda.

Art in the environment has of course had exponents who excessively craved novelty. 'Scubasculpture' and 'Oceanographic Art' come into this category. The enormous landscape art of Smithson and others perhaps should also belong here. The kind of art that becomes awe inspiring only when seen from the air seems to be inhibitive rather than catalytic in building an ecological awareness.

The work of Marz Grounds and Paul Pholeros deserve mention. In 1977 they undertook a three month journey in the Australian North attempting to spread an awareness of modern participatory art. They created a number of outback sculptures involving both artificial and landscape objects. These sculptures involved Boab trees, termite mounds, aeroplane wings, beer cans and so on. This work was done on outback stations and in Arnhem land.

Often environmental art seemed to merge directly with a political art form. This may be seen in photographs that protest the living conditions of high rise apartment blocks. Also it would appear futile to separate environmental art from the considerable body of folk art centred on nuclear issues.

Because the social alternatives put forward by the ecological movement often revolve around the need for non-hierarchical and non-oppressive relationships between people Feminist Art is also highly relevant. The struggles to build an ecologically sustainable society and a non-racist, non-sexist society have often been seen by many activists to be closely inter-linked. Thus the corresponding art movements are inter-linked too.



As can be appreciated from the above, there is a strong basis on which to build an Australian Environmental art. It is my opinion that a new beginning in Australian art should also draw much inspiration from Aboriginal culture. This is because Aboriginal art is so much more rooted in the Australian landscape than has been the case for the work of most white painters. In fact it is only in recent times that writers and artists have emerged who can be seen to identify and sympathise closely with the natural landscape. It will be important in creating a new art to understand deeply the meaning and relationship of Aboriginal art with the land. I think that this is the critical starting off point and for me it means I have so much to learn.

This new art would probably borrow from a wide variety of sources and materials, and would extend beyond the boundary of any single 'fine-art' field. It may be envisaged that a broad range of art form paintings through sculpture to street theatre will be involved. What will characterise it however, is a deep concern for and identification with the Australian land.

The possibilities for community participation are great indeed, e.g. environmental murals could be created. The experience of the Tasmanian blockade shows how a great deal of music was composed, all with a strong political-ecological message, and how many people could participate in the experience. Environmental art could easily be incorporated within a framework of non-violence and the social structures that go with it. The possibilities seem endless.

What would such an art do? It could articulate the aspirations and feelings of a whole new movement of people dedicated towards protecting the quality of the environment. It could also help to illuminate the way forward so that a more understanding and caring attitude can be shown by society towards this beautiful land.

Basil Schur

Hodgman fails with the fireworks in states' rights address

Those keen to see a pro-dam Liberal MP mauled by hoards of angry students were disappointed when Michael Hodgman spoke at the ANU Law School last week.

Mr Hodgman, the outspoken member for Denison, Tasmania, was greeted with little worse than polite applause when he addressed over 150 students on the States' rights controversy shortly to go before the High Court.

He outlined the legal arguments which he believes will bring down a ruling in Tasmania's favour. A former lawyer himself, Mr Hodgman predicted that Tasmania would win, but declined an offer to place a bet.

He considers the case to be of major importance to the future of Australia's Federal system. If the High Court rules that the Commonwealth can use its powers under Section 51 (29) of the Constitution to prevent construction of the Gordon Below Franklin Dam the future of the Federal system could be in jeopardy.

Section 51 (29) enables federal parliament to legislate for "peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to external affairs". This the Commonwealth will argue, involves fulfilling international obligations. This would now include preserving the Tasmanian Wilderness which recent legislation now lists as a World Heritage area.

If the Commonwealth wins, said Mr Hodgman, future federal governments could "pick a treaty" on any issue in order to subvert States' rights.

People who support a move towards centralism may welcome this move but, he said, "I am a federalist and believe it is the only system of government that will see Australia properly governed."

"There are many, many people in Australia who don't like this dam one little bit, but who also want to see our federal system upheld," he said. Few people had examined the implications of Section 100 of the Constitution which, he suggested, "may well be the dark horse in the case." This section states that the Commonwealth shall not inter-

fere in the rights of the States to the "reasonable use of the waters of rivers for conservation or irrigation." Mr Hodgman argued that "conservation" when the Constitution was drafted at the end of the nineteenth century, had a much broader meaning than it does today. It included the damming of a river for any purpose.



Photo: Libby Newling

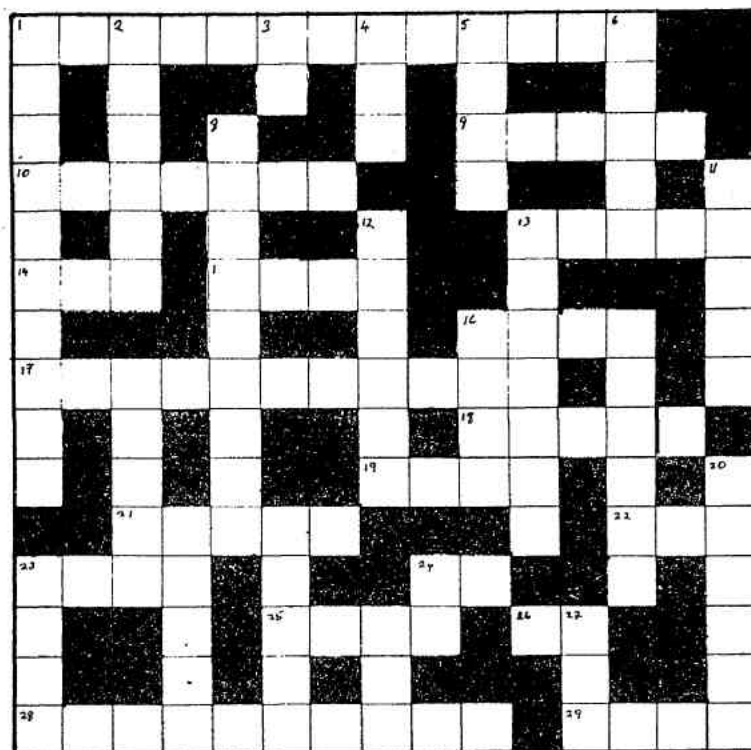
HODGMAN

"It could mean the damming of a river for tourist purposes. It could mean the damming of rivers for the purposes of electricity generation," he argued.

During question time Mr Hodgman had the opportunity to mix law with politics. He had earlier suggested that the meeting was being held in contempt of the High Court. Law lecturer Mr Nick Sedden told Mr Hodgman that he could see "no way" in which the meeting was in contempt of court. Mr Hodgman replied that Mr Sedden was probably as good as, if not a better, lawyer than himself then quickly changed the subject.

Mr Hodgman earned warm applause for criticising the referendum for not incorporating a no-dams option. He received another round of applause at the meeting's conclusion. No boos, no placards, no publicity. It was not so much the 'Mouth from the South' that spoke, but Michael Hodgman LLB.

WORONI CROSSWORD



ACROSS

1. Anti-monarchism, basically (13)
9. When no-one sane is awake (5)
10. All governments tend to do this too much. Let's change them for something better (7)
13. . . and error (5)
14. - use resources or - value (3)
15. In South America somewhere. Possibly full of exploited tobacco workers (4)
16. Displaced military regimes are fond of this technique for attaining power (4)
17. Governments such as USA, USSR, and Japan, Britain etc. (5)
18. People from China, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia etc.
19. Avoiding it is most people's main past-time (4)
21. Republicans want to remove it from Liz (5)
22. Green Freedom Fighters. Hungry in H Block (1,1,1).
23. Songs of the (4)
24. Aren't the subways meant to be for the people? (2)
25. Dead for a 100 years (4)
26. 25 Ac. helped to begin this major political force (1,1,1)

28. . . . lackey of the US Imperialists
29. What the Libs tried to replace with lovely loans (4) - (1,1,1,1).

DOWN

1. The only way to change anything. But does it go full circle? (10)
2. The mandate of whom it is necessary to govern with (6)
3. . . n (Duao (or something) (2)
4. The most famous Cuban Revolutionary (3)
5. minime, non, nem, no etc. (4)
6. This is no laughing matter - ask the Vietnamese (2,3)
7. No clue for this - make up whatever you like (3)
8. Mexican bandito. (9)
11. What the struggle is all about (5)
12. Wild west bandit (6)
13. 'You can bring Mao or Lin Piao but don't bring . . . ' (7)
16. who the 1917 revolution overthrew. (4)
20. Decisions of a body such as this are binding (usually) (6)
23. Major tactic
24. The type of nasty little bombs that run along tracks in subways (2)
27. Everyone's favourite drug. (3)

ANSWERS ON PAGE 3.

student reps

The academics and administrators of the A.N.U. have for some years accepted the notion of student representation on most decision-making bodies. This is the result of student activism. But to date we have not used this hard-won power enough: many student representatives are out of touch with the needs and aspirations of the students they are meant to represent; many student representatives see themselves, for the purpose of meetings, as honorary academics.

But there are many well intentioned student reps who are thwarted by the practical difficulties of their job: finding out what students think, formulating tactics, presenting arguments, dealing with opposition from staff members, deciding which issues are most important, co-operating with other student reps, and so on.

It is because these problems do prevent many student reps from working effectively that a Student Representatives Collective has been formed. Students will be able to best exercise the degree of power they have if their representatives know how to keep them informed, and how to act in an effective and organized way at meetings. The Student Reps Collective exists to help student reps do

this. We will have regular advertized meetings. All student reps are invited to attend, raise issues, seek advice, discuss general problems etc. . . .

How should student reps deal with issues? Set out below is a suggested course of action:

1. Canvass student opinion.
2. Seek advice from the student rep collective.
3. Seek advice from friendly academics (if appropriate).
4. Meet with other student reps; discuss principles, strategies
5. Report back to students: make sure that they approve and then get them involved: demonstrations, pickets, submissions and petitions are some effective ways to do this.
6. Have a student rep. caucus before the meeting to discuss your tactics and arguments, and those likely to be used against you.
7. At the meeting, behave with dignity. Do not descend to the level of the academics! Make sure that the meeting is being run fairly. Take notes of the debates.
8. Inform students of the result by a newsletter or an oral report in class.

Julian Thomas,

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Что это значит?



RELEVANCE

PETER KROPOTKIN (1842-1921)

There are few writers who have had as great an influence on the libertarian movement as Peter Kropotkin. Kropotkin was chiefly responsible for anarchism coming to be considered "as serious . . . theory of social change rather than a creed of class violence and indiscriminate destruction."

Although Kropotkin had no passion for creating organizations, he was most important to the libertarian cause as a writer. He developed a conception of anarchism as a moral philosophy rather than purely a programme of social change. Moreover, he achieved the 'humanization' of anarchism by relating theory to the details of actual living in his day.

Kropotkin was born into a powerful Russian aristocratic family. As a boy he served in the Tsar's Corps of Pages, and as a young man travelled widely in Asia gaining a reputation as a geographer. It was through contact with household servants in his youth and with peasants and exiles during his commission in Siberia that Kropotkin began to sympathize with the poor and the oppressed. He resigned from his post, horrified at the atrocities of the autocratic government. He became involved in populist agitation and was imprisoned for two years in St. Petersburg. He escaped to Western Europe and found his home in the French and Swiss anarchist movements. He was imprisoned for three years in France, but was released in 1886 because of ill health. He travelled to England, where he was to live for thirty years, earning his living as a writer on scientific, social and political matters. He returned to Russia after the revolution in 1917 and died there in 1921.

Kropotkin emphasized the need for rebellious workers and oppressed to be aware of the consequences of their actions. If this were not the case, any revolt against the existing social order might end in the establishment of new organs of power that would halt the development of a free society.

This approach was contrary to the approaches of Bakunin and Stirner, two other significant libertarian thinkers of the 19th Century, who both argued that a spontaneous, destructive revolution was not only desirable, but also necessary to overthrow the State.

Although emphasizing the need for some degree of preparation and forethought concerning the progression of a future revolution, Kropotkin warned against setting down particulars of strategy and tactics, for such principles could blind future revolutionaries to the new realities of their time and the new approaches to strategy and tactics which circumstances would dictate.

For such reasons Kropotkin rejected the role of any form of "revolutionary government" in forthcoming revolutions, and argued that only a complete and immediate transformation of society would provide an effective guarantee against regression. Kropotkin recognized the nature of parliaments in his day and rejected electoral action, realizing that no widespread and popular social change could ever be achieved through the actions of a few privileged administrators. Additionally, it was a waste of time and resources attempting to outdo one another in endless debates.

It can thus be seen that Kropotkin differed most from Marx and other "authoritarian" socialists on organizational grounds. He repudiated the political party, believing it to be a corrupting influence by reinforcing hierarchical relationships and stifling the free development of new ideas and forms of organization.

Kropotkin held the "commune" to be a desirable form of social organization. He described it as a local unit of administration, as near as possible to the people and their concerns. The word, also associated with the Paris Communes of 1793 and 1871, was an expression of political federalism. Yet Kropotkin meant something more; a commune was also a voluntary association uniting all social interests and represented by the groups of individuals directly concerned with them. A union of communes could produce a co-operative network that replaces the State. Kropotkin also advocated the dissolution of the distinctions between town and country, the decentralization of manufacturing, authority, etc. Kropotkin's theories in these areas are similar to those of the earlier French anarchist, Proudhon.

Whilst both Bakunin and Proudhon envisaged systems of economic distribution related directly to the labour-time of the individual worker, Kropotkin saw any form of exchange or wage system as another form of injustice. (After all, who's ever heard of 'fair wages?') He advocated instead the free availability of goods and services according to need. This has led Kropotkin to be called an anarchist-communist, although such free distribution was by no means a new idea, having been advocated by Sir Thomas More in the 16th Century.

Kropotkin continually emphasized the 'basic goodness' of people. He did not mean this in a silly metaphysical way, but believed that if people were left to manage their own affairs in an environment freed from exploitation and ignorance, they would develop into "socially-responsible beings", deriving moral responsibility from knowing themselves to be free people working for the common good.

Yet Kropotkin was not so naive as to assume that this goodness existed on a large scale or could easily be brought about; on the contrary, he outlined many probable reasons for the competitiveness, egotism and intellectual impoverishment which obscure this innate goodness. He recognized as primary reasons the division of labour, material poverty, centralized governments, deprivation of power and responsibility, and the fact that formal education and the news media were in the hands of the ruling classes. Kropotkin was in fact only making an assumption common to all socialists and communists: that a free and peaceful society oriented towards human needs could develop after overcoming certain material obstacles.

Although he is not recognized as a dialectical philosopher and seems not to have spent much time analyzing the fine details of economic systems or developing theories of historical dynamics, Kropotkin reached many conclusions in common with his contemporary Marx. He saw the need for a violent revolution to overthrow the capitalist class, for workers' control of their workplace, and for the full utilization of scientific developments to improve the efficiency of industry (i.e. to try and develop a technology of abundance). He saw a need to combine for purposes of propaganda and organization, and to concentrate chiefly on working people as the 'agents' of revolutionary change.

Above all, Kropotkin was concerned with the production and distribution of foodstuffs. He saw the endemic starvation of many Russian peasants, and realized also that food shortages during a revolution would be a great problem. He initiated a good deal of research on ways of fitting agriculture and industry to the needs of a humane, post-revolutionary society.

PROBLEMS

Despite his investigative approach and straightforward reasonings, Kropotkin can be attacked on the grounds of his lack of "scientific method". Additionally he seems to have failed to take into account some problems which might still be present in a stateless, 'lawless', democratically-organized society. Public opinion and moral 'compulsion' could be weighty coercive forces obliging people to fulfill certain public 'duties'. Kropotkin sometimes exhorted the 'sanctity of the majority', and one misses his defence of minority groups. It is as if a 'dictatorship of the majority' were acceptable, as long as the majority were 'right'. It is also true that Kropotkin's emphasis on potential human goodness does tend to tear people from their conditioning and from their cultural context.

Yet it would be folly to dismiss Kropotkin as a romantic, guilty aristocrat. Many of his ideas, once separated from the shackles of their time, provide valuable insights into the present.

George Woodcock suggests that the very presence of a concept of pure liberty can help us to judge our conditions and see our aims; it can help us to conserve and enlarge those areas in which personal values still operate; furthermore, says Kropotkin, it can show us how much we are infected with old prejudices and inclinations.

Kropotkin prompts us to question whether political parties and other such organs, in their conventional and hierarchical forms, are still desirable or even necessary today. His repudiation of the State, parliamentary parties and "revolutionary government" leads us to question whether the theoretical goal of the established Left, namely the conquest of political power rather than the destruction of it, is realistic in our time.

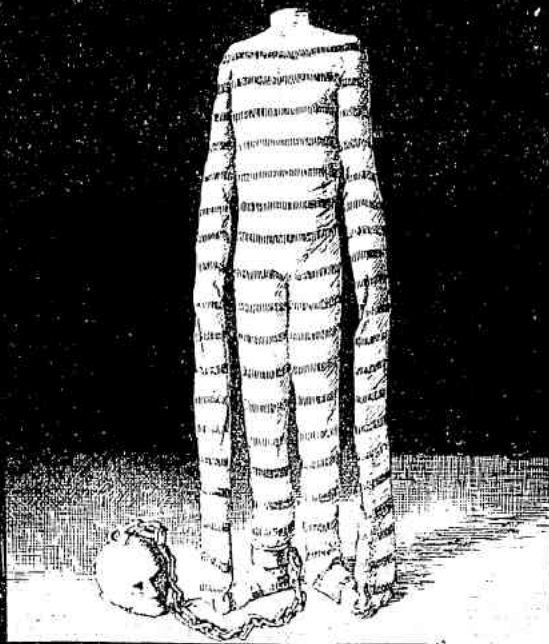
His emphasis on free distribution, voluntary co-operation and a rejection of all forms of remuneration system highlights a major failing of many 'progressive' movements today: they struggle within a basically bourgeois framework for more wages, shorter hours, fringe benefits, and more topically, even 'the right to work!' There are community organizations crying out for assistance, there is no shortage of work itself. Is it not instead more relevant to strive for a guaranteed minimum wage, an assurance from the community that it will sustain a reasonable standard of living for all? Furthermore, what is the value of struggling for more wages and shorter working hours when the control of the workplace, the nature of the work processes and the quality of the workers' free time take second priority?

Despite his possible methodological shortcomings, Kropotkin has many meaningful insights. He offers us some advice concerning the role of the State, its institutions and its offshoots in the forthcoming social revolution:

"And they [reformists of all kinds] expect this immense task [the revolution], requiring the free expression of popular genius, to be carried out within the framework of the State and the pyramidal organization which is the very essence of the State. They expect the State whose very Reason d'être is the crushing of the individual, the hatred of initiative, the triumph of one idea . . . — to become the lever for the accomplishment of this immense transformation! . . . They want to direct the revival of a society by means of decrees and electoral majorities . . . How ridiculous!"

Many of the ideas behind this piece came from George Woodcock's book *Anarchism*, published by Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1963; from Murray Bookchin's book *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, published by Ramparts Press, Palo Alto, 1971; and from a number of more-or-less libertarian people "in the wood-work".

Will Firth Page 22

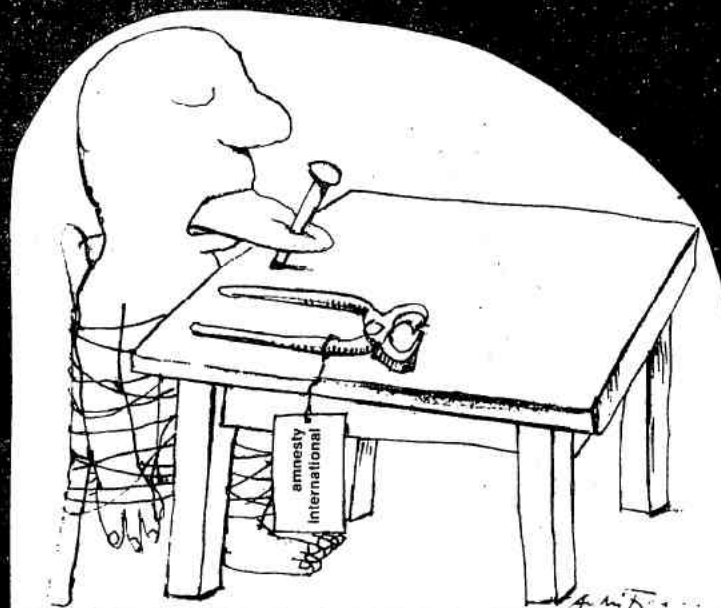


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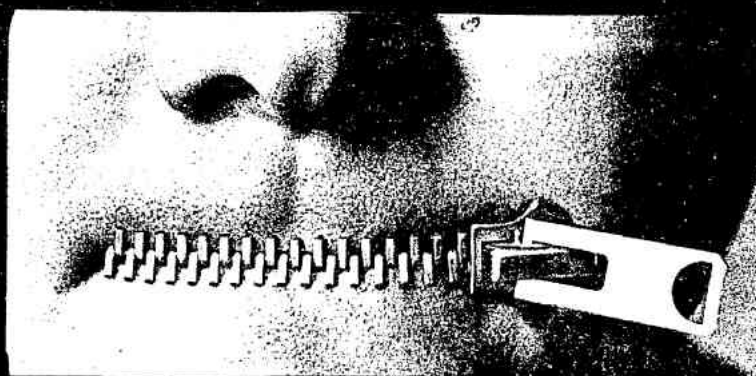


Amnesty International is a worldwide human rights movement which is independent of any government, political faction, ideology or religious creed. It works for the release of men and women imprisoned anywhere for their beliefs, colour, ethnic origin or religion, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence. These are termed 'prisoners of conscience'.

Amnesty International opposes torture and capital punishment in all cases and without reservation. It advocates fair and speedy trials for all prisoners.



PALESTINE: A HOMELAND DENIED



UNDERCURRENT

SINGLES

Toto Coelo. Milk from the Coconut. Radio Choice.

"Hey, hey, you, you wanna shoot the fruit." Although I'm not quite sure what that is supposed to mean this is nevertheless a more interesting and deliberating song from the Toto's. It's loads better than eating cannibals or Draculas and they use that disco come funk, rap medium quite intelligently.

Spear of Destiny. The Wheel. Epic.

The Wheel is a song of life. That chaotic, circular, merry go round music is slightly reminiscent of Brecht/Weill's "Threepenny Opera". Not only is it unsettling but also it shows a progression in thought and style from Kirk Brandon. The flip side is a re-working of Theatre of Hate's "the Hop".

"Don't give me your weakness
And your disbelief, I can't hear
Don't give me your hypocrisy
No don't talk if you can't hear."

Where TOH's version was brilliant and hitting, Brandon's reworking makes it sound desperate and more incisive. This is a double single with live versions of "The Preacher" and "Grapes of Wrath" (the title track of their recently released album). The mix is pretty muggy but the conviction shows through.

Blancmange. Blind Vision. London.

After the dreadful "Waves", Blancmange have surprised us all with an incredibly infectious dance song. Real punch is delivered using great trumpets coupled with wafting and willowy synthesizers. With the musical excellence of groups like "Tears for Fears", The Thomson twins, and "New Order" there seems to be a healthy and thriving competitiveness in producing intelligent dance music. I just hope it continues.

Mike Oldfield. Moonlight Shadows. Virgin

This is Mike Oldfield doing Mike Oldfield. Tubular Bells was great but he should have left it at that. This sounds just the same as his last few albums, which unfortunately is incredibly dull and repetitive. It'll probably win Euro-vision or an award or something of comparative vacuity.

Agnetha Faltskog. The Heat is On. Epic

Swedish funk? The idea is a bit strange but coupled with West Indian tin drums and carnivale atmosphere it's definitely dreadful. The B side is called "Man" and quite frankly I just couldn't force myself to listen to it.

Altered Images. Bring me Closer. Epic

This is what good pre-1976 funk is all about. With full string accompaniment are lyrics of love, need, dependence "something that you do to me feels uneasy". It's incredibly kitsch but it works.

The Church. It's no reason. Parlophone. Parlophone.

From Australia's self confessed best songwriter we are given a motley collection of cliches over drums and string guitars. Despite my somewhat biased disposition it is quite listenable.

Angelic Upstarts. Solidarity. Anagram.

Surprise, surprise. A song of compassion and understanding from Mensi and his Upstarts. It almost brings a lump to my throat.

"As the Polish workers fight to make their stand
And behind them ... y honest working man.
In unity there's each other and your friend
becomes your brother.
And in the tyrants here will be a lesson learnt."

The Vibrators. Guilty. Anagram

Here the Vibes attack funk and rap at the same time. As they sound more like Killing Joke these days this song ends up sounding like good ol' Deep fucking Purple. What a shame, they used to have ideas.



Yello. I love you. Stiff.

The brilliance of Dieter Meier again displays itself in what I can only describe as manic disco music. The incantation 'I love you' sung over screeching organ shows again that in the disco music stakes Germany is light years ahead of anything our American compatriots can slap together.

Style Council. Money go round. Keep on Burning.

"The insular circulation of power and wealth must be broken or we will forever be ruled by the same minority. They have proved time and time again that they are not, nor will ever be, fit or responsible to rule us, the majority." Well that's how the sleeve reads as the Cappuccino Kid (Paul Weller) tells us how the world is and how it should be. It is a recurring theme in Weller's writing (particularly "All Mod Cons and 'Setting Sons') but is now realising itself in a different and interesting way. Unlike the Council's last single this one shows that Weller has a better understanding of modern funk and soul, incorporating those Tambla trumpets to their fullest. A good single with complementary photo (isn't he cute?)

Phillip Jap. Brain Dance. A and M.

Ex-Japan member breaks out into the world of thought provoking dance floor music. Unfortunately it boils down to a stupid name and a stupid song.

Haysi Fantayzee. Sister Friction.

Regard
This is what happens when people who make disco music run out of ideas. They're using musical forms that groups like Sister Sledge and Boney M were using five years ago. I mean, why bother?

John & Vangelis. And When the Night Comes. Polydor

Again Vangelis shows his mastery at producing the easiest of all listening music. It's pleasant and carefully crafted, even though it doesn't have the same impact as the 'Chariots of Fire' theme.

The Photo's. There's always work. Rialto.

From the desperation of unemployed South West London comes this slower funk song with clever use of rhythm guitar and synthesizers. 'There's always work to do' is the repeated statement but seeing the negro cotton pickers on the cover they wonder if the work isn't just slavery.

The Jo-Boxers. Just got Lucky. RCA

A song right out of the mid-sixties beat era. Well done and pulled off with just the right amount of bravado.

Twisted Sister. The Kids are Back. Atlantic.

I seem to have the capacity to attract or come across some of the worst music that is possibly imaginable. Here we have a whole bunch of young lads dressing up as women and using no more than two chords on guitars and thump dud drums. Where they come from I don't know, where they go I don't care.

Tracy Ullman. Breakaway. Stiff.

A lot of the time we're apt to see covers of songs that turn out to be absolutely appalling. Fortunately this isn't one of them. The old Jackie de Shannon classic has been given a new lease on life and is one of the most enjoyable records of its kind I've heard for quite some time.

Any Trouble. Touch and Go. EMI

Another one in the line of soporific self confessional American love songs. They're all the same and it's a chronic waste of good vinyl.



Pink Umbrella's. Raspberry Rainbow Ready Stead Go.

"Waspberry Wainbow fwew my mind". I somehow think this is supposed to be a toddlers' song. If so it's passable. If not then quite frankly it's bloody dweeful.

One Way System. Give us a future. Anagram.

Babble, babble and a two chord thrash. Would n't know what the fuck this job was on about unless the words were on the back. God only knows why groups like this persist with this "we will fight them on the streets, we will win" bullshit. They thank their mums for brewing the tea and thank Carlsberg or Heineken for giving them their divine inspiration. It's a standing bloody joke and it's a standing bloody joke that persists.

New Five. Life Without Lulu. Aufait

"You met a car in the street one night
I wish it could have been different
At first you seemed alright, but problems persisted."

You became vague, almost somnolent." A quite beautiful song with just the right balance of love, loss, compassion, and empathy. "Latin America" is about the exploitation of that hot-bed of USA indulgence. For an Aussie band to approach a subject like this in a refreshing and accessible way I think will get more people thinking about these social injustices.

Hazan. Dreamer Devane. EMI

I don't know where this one popped up from but with any luck it will crawl away and die somewhere.

GBH. Catch 23/Hell Hole. Clay

Most Punk these days is just a mindless thrash. I don't know how GBH avoid it but they do. This song fires along at a blistering pace. "The missing rung we all knew
We survived Catch 22.
Now we're prepared and that's the key
So we'll survive Catch 23."
The lyrics are OK but don't forget this guy has only got point 8 of a second to say it in.

Tones on Tail. Burning Skies.

"Hot and Cold ideas were running on your eyes
your grey eyes."

The Nosferatu character on the cover of this single emphasises the creeping, slow, and macabre song of grey faces, grey feelings and loss. A life of desperation and decadence.

The Police. Every Breath You Take. A&M

Every little this, every little that, every little da, da, da. After "Ghost in the Machine" watch out for "Iron is the Soul".

Futura 2000 and his Escapades. Celluloid.

A great Rap song of Mr 2000's life of spray-can graffiti, New York style. His graffiti is an art form and it's born in that urban wasteland, shakedown scene. The backing music is performed by po faced Joe and his CLASH masters. In the same vein, "Overpowered by Funk" on Combat Rock.



Tears for Fears Pale Shelter Phonogram.

Few bands use the meat in the sandwich of emotional relationships for their musical inspiration. From the album "The Hurting" is another cleverly constructed song delving into the shallowness and use/abuse within the strange confines of a relationship. Definitely the best song this week from one of the best albums released this year.

THE HEAT IS ON



ALBUMS

New Order. Power, Corruption and Lies. Factory.

I'm not the kind that likes to tell you
Just what you want me to."
Well, they're the opening lines of "Age of Consent" on New Order's P, C and L. That feel of echoing organ music elegantly juxtaposed powerful bass playing. It is a light, refreshing pop song and is an interesting change in direction for New Order.

"We All Stand" is a song of desperation and askance.

"Three miles to go
At the end of the road
Is a soldier waiting for me."
The song deliberating and careful, uses powerful bass drum effects and, dare I use this word, haunting organ.

"Life goes on in this real life fantasy."
"The Village" is an enjoyable and easy listening song about the innocence and enjoyment of an untainted love. '586' starts on a slow melancholic note, and then breaks into one of the best musical sections of the album. It is very similar in feel to Blue Monday but the lyric content is much better.

I hear silence
I hear silence in my heart
From a distance
Turn your back and run from me
Yes, I heard you calling."

Perhaps it's one of those situations where one partner doesn't know what's going on, but he or she seems to be on the other's leash anyway.

"Take the first chance when I am no longer free."

"Your Silent Face" opens the second side, or the first side, or whichever way you look at it since the only print on the whole album is inward spiralling circles in the middle of the disc.

Again the excellent backdrop of powerful drumming (while not overbearing) and bass organ support the overwhelming orchestral synthesizers. Just a bit like Orchestral Manoeuvres but the words are much better.

"Thought that never changes remains stupid lie.

It's never been quite the same
No hearing, or breathing, no movement
No colour, just silence."

Ultra violence has a provocative and breathless hypnotic beat to it. "Who saw those dark eyes", using restrained buzz-saw guitar adds to the unnerving quality of this song.

Ecstasy is another song evocative of its title. As with the rest of this album, on a superficial level it is nice pop music, but the more you delve into it the greater the reward. Ecstasy is a song suggestive of rhythmic sensuality.

The album's last song 'Leave Me Alone' talks of how all consuming a relationship can be and how things of seeming insignificance may be blown out of all proportion. Eventually, just "Leave Me Alone". It rounds off a very full and interesting album. As with most album reviews I try and give perhaps an inkling as to what it is about. In listening to Power, Corruption and Lies and reading what I have written, a lot has been left out. Not so much as in content (although that is a great part) but more so in the feel an album gives and how much an individual is willing to take. "Power, Corruption and Lies" is an album of provoking an intoxicating music. No it isn't like old New Order or Joy Division and it would be defamatory to try and relate this album to music of a different era. It's refreshing and New and has been worth the wait.



Fun Boy Three. Waiting. Chrysalis

The opening track on the Funboys' second album 'Murder She Said' is a musical piece which sounds as though it would have been the theme music for a sixties television series. What with joyous piano music and accompanying orchestration who could ask for more
"The More I see (the less I believe)
The barbed wire fences have replaced the Trees."

This song continues in musical style from the previous track. Here the Funboys turn their inspiration and concern to Northern Ireland. Terry Halls' wire wiry and passionate vocals give added depth and strength to the sentiments expressed.

"The governing powers are confused.
The armies becoming bemused
Another bomb becomes defused
And the terrorists aren't amused."

"Going Home" is a song about where home actually is or isn't for the immigrant, and how ill treated they are by the 'white bureaucrats'. This song as with the rest of the album shows the Funboys' taking, not a new direction, but expanding upon the ideas of askance and awareness apparent in their first LP. Musically it's influenced somewhat by K A and by early 60s soul music. The amalgam of these forms plus their own progression of ideas are evident and expressive throughout this whole album.

How we kid ourselves, and feign realisation of what actually is going on in life is the theme for "We're having all the fun."

"Farmyard Connection,"
"Bang went another week's wages
Bang went the family feed."

Using the theme from old sea shanties coupled with female backing vocals and perceptive observations gives a song of chain-gang realisation.

"Tunnel of Love", the previous single from the album concentrates on a woman getting married and having kids too young. Together with rather macabre tango music this song spirals for her eventual suicide. "In the Tunnel of Love". "Our Lips are Sealed" I reviewed last issue but for sake of repeating myself, it is a slower and more deliberate version than the Go-gos, and I think the song has more impact when delivered in this fashion. "The Pressure of Life (takes weight off the body)". Here the Funboys use musical influences as diverse as Bernstein to 60s go-go. Again it is another piece of music expanding on themes of loneliness, suffering and life eating away at your very existence. "Things we do" tells us of all the ridiculous ways of life we all have and how they are seen as more important than what we are as human beings. Using compassionate piano playing adds to the ideas and offsets a somehow sad and unfortunate realisation.

"Well Fancy That" is a song about a school boy being raped by his school teacher on a trip to France. Not what you'd think to be the greatest theme for a song but rape in any sense deserves airing because it is one of the worst social injustices.

In all "The Waiting" is an album of passions and understanding. The Funboy 3 utilize themes from modern jazz, Gershwin, to James Bond type music. Their usage and understanding of a previously unexplored medium make the Funboy 3's "Waiting" a brilliant album.



JUMP SWING & SWING
AT THE
WHISKY JIVE
WHISKY A GOGO
33 WARDOUR ST.
LONDON W.1.

Soggy Porridge/The Go-Betweens
7.6.83. ANU Union.

CONCERTS

The Lighthouse Keepers/The Particles.
28.5.1983.

After their last time in Canberra it was good to see the Lighthouse Keepers expanding on their previous line up. This time they had several Particles playing extra instruments. A fuller and more diverse set they played those enjoyable 50's and 60's Rock and soul covers, their excellent single 'Gargoile', and even managed to make a country music song bearable. The Lighthouse Keepers have improved ten-fold and with their effervescent and affectionate musical style deserve the recognition they are only now beginning to receive.

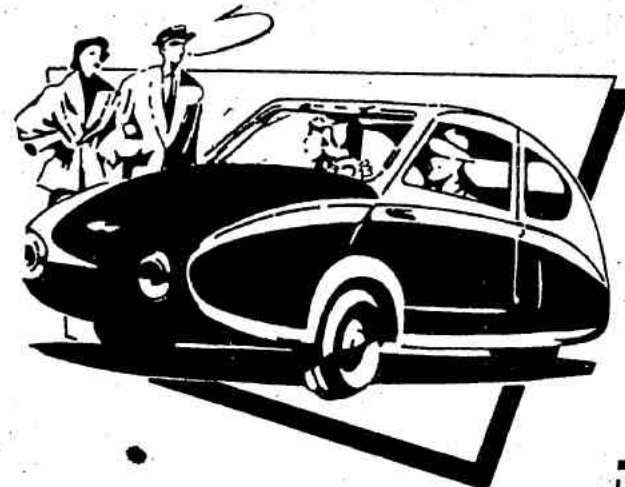
The Particles came on and played the same set as last time. Although they were good and the song's sentiments still provoking to an extent they seemed to be just going through the motions. I think though that it was just the night. They are a great band and play great pop music. I hope on the next trip down both bands deliver another full evening's entertainment.

Soggy Porridge play a pretty bland sort of rock/new wave type music. The single they released just recently, "How can I tell you", was about the only decent song in their set. But even that was marred by too much staginess and bad mixing.

I must preface the Go-Betweens Concert by saying that they are one of the best bands in Australia. Their musical influences come from folk/ballad music and Rock of the 1960s. The amalgam and progression of this music and ideas go toward making the Go-Betweens one of the most accessible groups around. I must admit I'm at a bit of a loss in reviewing this. The refectory was far too big to stage a band, who although brilliant, aren't that well known in Canberra. Hence the atmosphere and closeness that the Go-Betweens ask for was mostly lost. They did shine in moments though with "Two Steps step out," "Before Hollywood," "Ask," "Cattle and Cane," "That Way," and their encore, "Karen". Lyrics of passion, confrontation, askance in relationships, and life in general have always had something of an awesome power. And that power is an integral part of the Go-Betweens' music. Another factor which detracted somewhat from the concert was that Grant McLennan (guitar and vocals) was quite ill and didn't even come back for the encore. So, while the band and the concert weren't that crash hot the Go-Betweens remain an important influence in music. Their latest album 'Before Hollywood' is one of the best around and if you're looking for music that is intelligent, reflective, and understated and something you can identify with as an individual then the Go-Betweens and their music is what it is all about. Something very warming indeed. Well on that slightly reflective note I'll say farewell for this semester. I wish you all well with exams and the like and hope you all have a good holiday.



NEW ORDER



Again I am greatly indebted to Impact Records for their co-operation in letting me use their records and facilities.

Thanks to all,

Marcus Kelson



PO

DISARMAMENT

FOR NATIONS



JEAN CAR

NUCLEAR SYMPOSIUM

On Monday and Tuesday of last week ANU hosted a symposium on "The Consequences of Nuclear War for Australia and its Region". Nearly 400 people packed the Coombs Lecture Theatre to hear Prof. Peter Karmel's opening address, a call for a non-emotional scientific (as befits a university) examination of the issue. (Some in the audience may have been reminded of Helen Caldicott's remark in the Albert Hall a few weeks ago "People who don't get emotional about mass annihilation need professional help.")

The first speaker, Professor Frank Barnaby from the Free University of Amsterdam, provided a frightening lesson in arms-race arithmetic. The latest count: the US has 9540 strategic warheads (totalling 3448 megatons) and 16000 tactical (2000 megatons); the USSR 8802 strategic warheads (4535 megatons) and 15000 tactical (1900 megatons). To ensure a personal service the US has 1919 "delivery systems" for its strategic warheads, the Soviets 2504.

According to Barnaby, these figures represent more than a quantitative increase over the last decade; simultaneously the technology has become more sophisticated. Today's hardware is more accurate and more reliable than ever before, giving it greater targetting flexibility. Herein lies the great peril we face. In the good old days the relatively clumsy weapons needed big targets to hit, nothing less than a city would do. So it came about that the urban centres of the northern hemisphere found themselves in *thrall* to the ICBMs of the other side — millions of people living their lives as hostages of international power politics. This was life in the second half of the 20th century, this was "deterrence" (through "Mutual Assured Destruction"), this was obscene! Modern weapons, capable of hitting small "hard" (i.e. protected) targets such as ICBM silos have led to new doctrines, the present champion is 'counterforce' (nothing like a high-sounding label to make people think you know what you're doing). Counterforce means hitting the enemy's offensive weapons (before he can fire them?) it is a policy based on war-fighting not deterrence. Only ten years ago, said Barnaby, the people who espoused this idea were regarded as extremists, now they're on top and both superpowers are working on anti-missile and anti-satellite systems. Whichever gets there first will be in a position to launch a pre-emptive first strike.

Barnaby suggested several possible scenarios for a nuclear outbreak; deliberate great power decision, mechanical failure/malfunction of a weapons system, human or computer error, irrational behaviour by those in control of the weapons (Thatcher?). But he claimed escalation of a conventional war was widely considered the most likely danger, with a script something like this: A war breaks out in the Third World, locally made relatively small nuclear weapons are employed; larger powers are drawn in and the conflict spreads to Europe; there tactical nuclear weapons are used by one side or the other leading to the final stage, an all-out nuclear exchange.

Prof. Barnaby offered two alternative explanations for the arms-race. Firstly that it is the result of a deliberate political wish or decision by the superpowers, secondly that it is out of political control. While admitting that the choice between the two is largely a matter of judgement, Barnaby briefly set out his reasons for holding the second view. With a nod to Eisenhower's "beware the military-industrial complex" speech of more than 20 years ago. Barnaby isolated four powerful groups with a vested interest in the continuance of the arms race; The military, the weapons industry (cost-plus contracts make weapons more profitable than washing-machines), the academic community (25% of R & D scientists in the US work for the military) and the 27,000 civilian bureaucrats who administer this vast empire. Given that political leaders want above all else to stay leader, what chance has a US President, say from withstanding the sort of pressures such groups can bring to bear? Very little, concludes Barnaby, particularly when that President is up for re-election.

With anti-missile and anti-satellite weapons already on the technological horizon, weapons that will convince policy makers that nuclear war is not only fightable but winnable, time is short. What is needed, said Barnaby, is a comprehensive disarmament programme (rather than today's ad-hocery) with two major immediate goals, the exclusion of ALL nuclear weapons from Europe and the phasing out of the newly vulnerable (hence tempting) land-based ICBMs of both sides. Verification of such agreements — the supposed difficulty of which is often advanced as an excuse for not negotiating — is really a problem of political will argues Barnaby, citing the fact that it did not prevent the major powers achieving controls on biological weapons.

And, of course, political control of the arms race must quickly be re-asserted as the first step to ending it. Therein lies the prescriptive force of Barnaby's analysis. If he asserts the arms race is fuelled by domestic rather than international pressures surely it is accessible to mass action. It is up to each of us to raise our voices for nuclear disarmament. We too have a vested interest in the arms race, we want to outlive it.

But how would Australia fare if a

nuclear war were to break out in the northern hemisphere? As 1914, 1939 and later Korea and Vietnam demonstrate, Australians — or more precisely, Australian politicians — hate to be left out when there's a decent war going. So it's not surprising to find that we've bought our tickets for the big one well in advance. Three tickets in fact, the US bases at North West Cape, Pine Gap and Nurrungar. Part of a global communication system, the Cape's primary role is communication and control of US ballistic-missile submarines in the Pacific (including the issuing of fire warnings). Pine Gap is a ground station for US satellites monitoring Soviet missile forces. Nurrungar performs a similar function for the US early warning satellite system. According to Dr Des Ball from ANU Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, these three installations would be high on any Soviet planner's hit list. And he gives details of how it would be done — each target would probably get a single warhead SS11 missile, airburst. Depending on weather conditions, the resultant fall-out could have quite catastrophic effects on Alice Springs, the Port Augusta region and Adelaide.

Dr Ball is no alarmist — quite the contrary. He has followed the path of unemotional scientific inquiry so dear to Prof. Karmel's heart. He has researched the strategies, counted the megatons, calculated the variables and computed the probabilities. With a minute and searching eye he has looked into the face of nuclear horror — and he gives the impression that he can no longer see it. If he hasn't exactly learnt to stop worrying and love the bomb, he seems to be able to live with it calmly.

In Dr Ball's view the USSR is the only power even remotely likely to attack Australia with nuclear weapons and then only as part of a general US-USSR nuclear exchange. Doubtless few would disagree so far, but to such an exchange Dr Ball ascribes a "low priority". Moreover the chance of attacks on Australian cities would be "very low indeed" even if the worst came to the worst. Not only are our cities extremely unlikely targets in any event, but no nuclear attack on Australia would come out of the blue — the progressive deter-

ioration in international affairs and probably use of tactical nuclear weapons overseas would serve warning (Prof. Barnaby's "most likely" scenario supports this); but Ball does concede that once any conflict escalates to the point where strategic weapons are used, North West Cape in particular would be a very early target.

It seems that when you get involved in this level of theoretical investigation you lose sight of the irrationality — hence the unpredictability — of the arms race. Several speakers (Barnaby, Dr John Ward, Dr Barrie Pittock) either explicitly or implicitly rejected Ball's soothing evaluations, many in the audience saw the macabre humour in his reassurance that we'd have plenty of warning.

Ball seems to think that Australia is fairly safe from the consequences of his 'low probability' nuclear war. Given the fate awaiting Europe in the same circumstances there is perhaps a grain of truth in this, but Dr Barrie Pittock and Mr Ian Galbally (both from the CSIRO's Division of Atmospheric Physics) in separate papers made it quite plain that the southern hemisphere will not escape the massive radio-active fall-out generated by a northern hemisphere holocaust.

(Ball had argued that the two hemispheres have independent and self-contained weather patterns which would prevent the spread of fall-out. Pittock finally found a polite way to say 'garbage'.) Fifty percent of a nuclear explosion's energy takes the form of blast, 35% is thermal and the remaining 15% is radiation. The crucial point, according to the atmospheric physicists, is whether this radiation penetrates the troposphere (which divides the lower atmosphere from the stratosphere). Once in the stratosphere radio-active particles will be spread world-wide. Given that there is plenty of combustible material to fuel post-explosion fires (forests, cities, houses, people), towering fire-plumes will carry radio-active debris into the stratosphere. These fires will also produce impenetrable clouds over about 20% of the northern hemisphere, clouds which will heat up as they absorb sunlight. Apart from lowering surface temperatures below them, these clouds will probably disrupt local weather patterns — radio-activity from the lower atmosphere may cross the equator. How much radiation the southern hemisphere will thereby inherit is impossible exactly to calculate, but the projections are disturbing. Mr Galbally suggested at least five times the dose that atmospheric tests in the 50s and 60s sent wafting south. And if nuclear reactors are hit (which is somewhere between a sure thing and a dead certainty), multiply by 30.

People like Pittock and Galbally, who view the arms race from the perspective of their own expertise, seem to arrive at far saner conclusions than those whose expertise IS the arms race. Not because (Ball's) good news is no news — quite the contrary. One of the most poignant contrasts in the entire symposium was provided by people's reactions to the different messages. Two people (one from Perth worried about the proximity of Cockburn Sound, the other from Gippsland concerned about Omega) asked Dr Ball how high he rated the chance of their area being targetted. To both he said the risk was minimal. Whether the USSR shares Dr Ball's evaluation is a matter of some debate (particularly regarding Omega) but two anxious Australians were strikingly grateful. "The expert has spoken; we can put aside our fears'. It was like a papal blessing!

The point is of course that we cannot, dare not, put aside our fears; they can give us some of the energy we need for the disarmament campaign, they can help keep us in touch with the reality we face. And those fears ARE well-founded. Who in the southern hemisphere would survive a general nuclear exchange between the superpowers? Barrie Pittock, having studied probable patterns of radiation dispersion gives his answer: those few who have the skills to survive without 20th century civilisation, for example South American Indians. This statement was greeted with a long and thoughtful silence — no-one felt reassured, no-one felt blessed! A world where the survivors of the initial conflagration are exposed to killing radio-activity, increased ultra-violet radiation (partial destruction of the ozone layer) and face a complete dislocation of their social and economic environment without the skills to cope with it (what would YOU do if the supermarkets never opened again) is indeed a world where the living would envy the dead.

Dr John Ward, secretary of the Australian Branch of the Medical Association for Prevention of War, spoke of the way a nuclear explosion in a major urban area would totally overwhelm the surviving medical organisation. Of the hundreds of thousands of critically injured (burn victims, blast injuries, radiation, more burn victims) literally a handful would receive any treatment at all, let alone treatment that might save them. And the symposium's organisers, Dr Michael Denborough from ANU's John Curtin School of Medical Research, made a similar point; nuclear warfare to him is a medical issue, the greatest epidemic facing humanity. The horrifically burned children of Hiroshima are what the arms race — and all the time and intellectual energy it absorbs — is finally about.

This symposium was the first of its kind to take place at an Australian University; quite apart from the insights and information it provides, that it happened at all is a hopeful sign a straw in the rising disarmament wind. After all, it was "non-political" scientists who first urged the development of the A-bomb upon President Roosevelt.



Apart from odd political illiterates like Edward Teller, it has been similarly "unpolitical" scientists who have been involved in weapons' research and development ever since. Rationally and unemotionally they have produced weapons of ultimate horror — and a dreamworld of explanations and justifications, superficially "scientific" concepts to be our guides in their use. Now more and more of these 'experts' from many disciplines are accepting the moral and political responsibilities of their expertise and joining the struggle for nuclear disarmament.



ECOLOGY and PEACE

Speech given to the Nuclear War Symposium
by Roland Vogt of the West German Green Party.

Dear friends in the Australian Peace Movement, I have the pleasure to bring you the warmest greetings from Petra Kelly and the Green Party in the Federal Republic of Germany. When Petra came back from a speaking tour to Australia in 1976 she was able to give to the anti-nuclear movement in Germany some very encouraging information

- about the Green Ban against the transportation of uranium
- about the "Keep the Uranium in the Ground" Movement
- about co-operation between the Anti-Uranium Movement, some trade unions and Aborigines.

We needed such an encouragement at that time because we witnessed a very traumatic demonstration in favour of Nuclear Energy, organized by an influential trade union in co-operation with a pro-nuclear public relations agency. The Australian example gave a lot of inspiration to some of us. For example, to Nina Gladitz who made the documentary film: "The uranium belongs to the rainbow serpent" - a film which was well received by the Anti-Nuclear Movement in West Germany and even shown on television.

Today I hope to be able to reinvest some of the encouragement your movement gave to us seven years ago.

The history of the anti-nuclear movement including the break-through of the Green Party is connected with the inter-linkage of the ecological and the peace movement which together forms a lifemovement, or the Green Movement.

This interlinkage didn't come from itself, it was prepared intellectually and organized practically.

A new era of enlightenment?

If the slogan of the era of enlightenment, following the philosopher Immanuel Kant was 'sapere aude' (dare to use your own brain), the formula today, beyond sapere aude has to be: be courageous enough to understand the interconnection of problems, and dare to act in accordance with that understanding of how things are interconnected.

First attempts to develop a public understanding of the necessity for a connection between the anti-nuclear movement against nuclear power plants and the movement against nuclear weapons were made in 1975 and 1976, and they failed.

For example: in 1975 I tried to convince some regional citizen action groups struggling against the Nuclear Power Plant in Wyhl to organize an Easter March against both Nuclear Power Plants and Nuclear Weapons.

Intimidated by the propaganda-strategy of the state government some leaders of the regional groups didn't dare to organize the Easter March in that form. The Easter Marches of the Anti-nuclear weapons movement of the sixties had been labelled 'leftist'; And in 1975 the local population which resisted the construction of a nuclear power plant in Wyhl was afraid of being accused of being communists. Result: they organized an international meeting against nuclear power plants and they neglected the opposition against the nuclear weapons.

Side Effect: I took part in that imperfect demonstration, made the acquaintance of Petra Kelly, who came there as a speaker and that was the beginning of a deep personal friendship.



NUCLEAR RACE....

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More than one year later the newborn political couple and the future co-founders of the Green Party Kelly-Vogt made an address to the public in the same region, proclaiming that the resistance against nuclear power plants had to be a Peace Movement as well. When I said this in an open air speech, one person shouted: that's political, that's communist thinking!

The reaction of the public was split, but the majority voted in favour of continuing the speech.

At that time, we used to argue that it was not logical to fight against a dozen nuclear power plants whilst ignoring the 6000 atomic warheads on West German territory. We tried to prove that the so-called civilian uses of nuclear fission were siamese twins, based on the same insane substance: uranium. With regard to Plutonium, we said: with the export of the atomic fuel cycle to countries like Argentina, Pakistan or

Israel, the original producers were actually exporting the desire to build the atomic bomb into neighbouring countries like Brazil, India and Iraq. That's because the nuclear cycle in the hands of the neighbouring country nourished the fear that the country might have the atomic bomb first! Some years later, when Israel bombed a nuclear Reactor in Iraq, we no longer had to bother about trying to prove in academic terms the validity of this claim!

And: we could cite the Australian example: that the fight against atomic weapons requires blocking the nuclear cycle at its source!

In some publications of the ecological movement we used to introduce a special section called "Ecology and Peace". So, over the years we began to build, step by step, a growing awareness of the interconnection between ecology and peace. It was recognized then, that ecology means peaceful relations both between humankind and nature and also among human beings themselves.

And finally we could easily introduce into the peace manifesto of the green party this basic paragraph: "The life-style and mode of production which are based on a never-ending flow of raw materials which are then used in a wasteful fashion, provide the motivation for the use of force to acquire those raw materials from others. By contrast, the responsible use of raw materials in an ecologically-based life-style and economy reduces the danger of the political use of force on our behalf. Ecological politics within the community create the conditions for the reduction of tension and the possibility of peace in the world."

Action - planning "ecology and peace"

A more practical way to bring about co-operation between the ecological and the peace movements was to organise joint action conferences. So, we organized some joint demonstrations in local areas where nuclear power plants were to be built close to existing military installations.

New approach to disarmament

The first conference of that kind took place in October 1979 and thus some peace groups and ecological citizens' action groups were able to respond in a joint statement against the proposed decision to deploy new medium-range missiles on Western European soil. We proclaimed instead of this so-called "rearmament" a new approach to disarmament. We called it -

"first, well calculated steps towards disarmament" Thus, re recognized that we are condemned to disarm and that we needed new approaches to achieve real disarmament.

Never in history have negotiations ever resulted in disarmament. We don't trust the multi-lateral disarmament concept. Instead of this we require real disarmament measures. The first calculated steps must be taken not under the condition that the other side takes the same step that never has functioned but in the expectation that our offer is the first step and that it will be followed by a step from the other side and so on.

Thus, the doves on both sides encourage each other and take the initiative towards what we call a disarmament race.

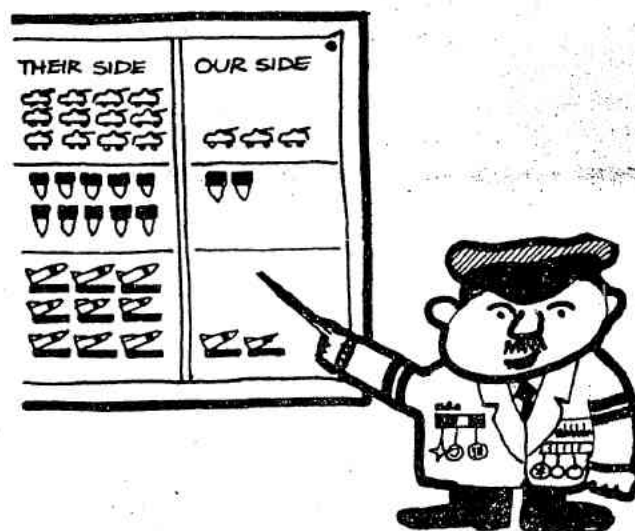
Two branches on one tree

with the help of such concepts and with joint actions we brought together two branches: the ecological movement and the new peace movement: the joint Green Movement as a life-oriented movement. If "freedom" is regarded as the top value of the West and of the conservative, liberal and so-called christian parties, if on the other hand equality is the top value of the East and the communist and socialist parties, life is the highest value of the Green movement.

The Green Party is a Party within movements such as the ecological, the peace, the third world - the women's movement(s).

Blockfree: de-block the brains

The Green Party supports the position of European Nuclear Disarmament (END), first launched in the United Kingdom, for block-free politics and for nuclear free zones in Europe. A block-free policy demands first of all the deblocking of our brains - in Germany not an easy task after decades of brain-washing, anti communist propaganda and so on. To deblock brains requires an autonomous position, to decide questions based on our own needs and not following the formula that what is detrimental to my enemy is good for me or that the mere fact that my neighbour possesses something requires that I get the same thing: an argument often used in Germany to justify the nuclear industry (East Germany, the Russians, the French have got it - not to have it means to be inferior by comparison).



Our main concern at the moment is to stop the next bout of rearmament by refusing the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise Missiles doesn't mean that we neglect the other weapons of mass destruction: we express opposition to them on behalf of the final consumers of those weapons; that means the future victims, whether they be victims of the SS 20, the French Missiles Pluton I, II, Hades, the British Trident I, II or so-called tactical US atomic weapons, which are designed to explode on German ground anyway

The slogan which we use for this block-free ideal is: Neither to the East nor to the West but loyal to one another.

Five members of the Green Party, among them four members of Parliament (including Petra Kelly and myself) recently have stressed this position by demonstrating in East Berlin with the banner of the East German Autonomous Peace Movement "Swords to Ploughshares". That it was not understood as a hostile but as a nonviolent action was proved by a letter of Chair Honecker (the East German Chancellor) to a message we had left in the Headquarters of the State Police in East Berlin.

During my temporary arrest in the German Democratic Republic I had some interesting disarmament talks with different civil servants. I always try to have private disarmament talks like this continuously, with everyone; we need them in our countries because up to now, the official disarmament talks have failed; private disarmament talks are probably more substantial. . .

Social Defence: Necessity is the Mother of invention

Another alternative which fits well with our ecological block free and nonviolent orientation is the social defence-idea. Following the old saying that necessity is the mother of invention, from time to time peoples have invented nonmilitary means of struggle. This could happen, when their political leaders did not accept military action to resist an invader (1968 USSR) or when the army was too weak to be used to fight back military intervention from outside. Such an experience happened in the twenties, when Germany resisted against the Belgian-French invasion of the Ruhr region (Ruhrkampf).

I feel, that the European and the Us-american Peace movements have not the capacity to bring about the necessary change to disarmament. But in order to prevent a nuclear holocaust must succeed in finding real disarmament measures. We have to wrest it from the political and economical forces in power, including Dr Kohl, Mrs Thatcher, Mr Reagan, Chairman Andropov and Chairman Honecker. Governments like the Australian and the Canadian governments should come to help the majority of people in our countries which desire disarmament. A first joint action could be an international Summit for Survival co-chaired by the Australian government. That's what I have asked Senator Susan Ryan to convey to her Government. The idea was born in a talk with Stella Cornelius, shortly after my arrival in Australia.

b) help from the Australian communities

You know that in the coming months, at the latest next August, we have to withstand the attempt to deploy the US-American Pershing II and Cruise Missiles. Some of you may know that parts of our peace movement such as the women of Greenham Common and nonviolent blockaders in Western Germany have to face enormous problems, including financing their actions and paying fines.

I know that the peace movement in Comiso, Sicily, needs an important amount of money (50,000 Australian dollars) to buy a block of land just opposite the deployment-site to establish an international Peace Camp there, and to watch the preparatory works in the construction of the site. 112 Cruise Missiles in the South of Sicily, straight opposite the North African coast will obviously not be directed exclusively toward the Warsaw Pact. . . .

My proposition is that the Australian Peace Movement instantly gives help to the European Peace Movement in this critical moment — not only idealistically but also with fund-raising. So the British community could help the Women of Greenham Common; the Italian community could make some contributions to our friends in Comiso, the German community

could send funds to the affinity groups that organize nonviolent blockades in all the presumable sites of Pershing II and Cruise Missiles.

Appeal

I have learned in this Conference that nuclear extermination probably doesn't threaten the Australian population as directly as it threatens the Europeans. If that is right, then I implore the government and people of Australia: don't repeat the tragic mistakes we made in Europe. Don't accept that you continent will be maltreated by one of the Superpowers as a military colony. Don't accept that targets are installed. Even under Australian control they would be targets; controlled remain targets. Don't accept to be hostages to the Superpowers. That is the sort of hostage which we are and perhaps it's too late to free ourselves from that condition.

"... act globally as well"

One of the slogans of green parties in Europe says: "Think globally — act locally". That's what we have tried to do in the last few years and what created the basis for our first successes. But now we have to learn to act locally and globally — to act together.

Let this be the message of our meeting today. Let this be the beginning of interconnected Australian-European block-free peace movement.

To be sure, I have confronted you with some strange and unimagined suggestions, but to avoid "the unimaginable — the extermination of mankind — we are charged to reinvent the world.

Or let me say it in the words of Erich Fried, a German poet, living in London:

*"Whoever wants the world to remain as it is
Doesn't want the world to remain."*

Roland Vogt, Member of Parliament, Green Party, FRG



Badge of the autonomous East German Peace Movement:

*"Swords to Ploughshares . . .
Begin here with ourselves!"*

This badge has been outlawed in East Germany, a fact not without irony, since the image in the centre is based on a sculpture presented to the United Nations by the Soviet Union in 1946.

Due to lack of time I can't develop this idea, but I want to make clear that the Green Party as a nonviolent organization within the peace movement prefers the conversion from military to nonmilitary defence to any military concept. In our party it is considered a proven point that security cannot be achieved by military means in the international threat system of the atomic age. From the ideological point of view, one might add that military apparatus and supply agencies share the fate of all human institutions which result from the aiming at absolute security. They produce the opposite: insecurity, force, pathological learning, if on the one hand, the worst comes to the worst, the destruction of human beings and nature, if on the other hand, circumstances are favourable, the break-up of the institution which is founded on faulty construction.

Like every human being, institutions are bound to make mistakes. When the destruction-capacity of a military system is combined with the factor of human error, extermination of humanity probably can be the result. Social Defence, on the other hand, can make allowance for human error.

Military concepts encourage the military pattern of conflict resolution. Civilian concepts set free the productive imagination of every citizen concerned.

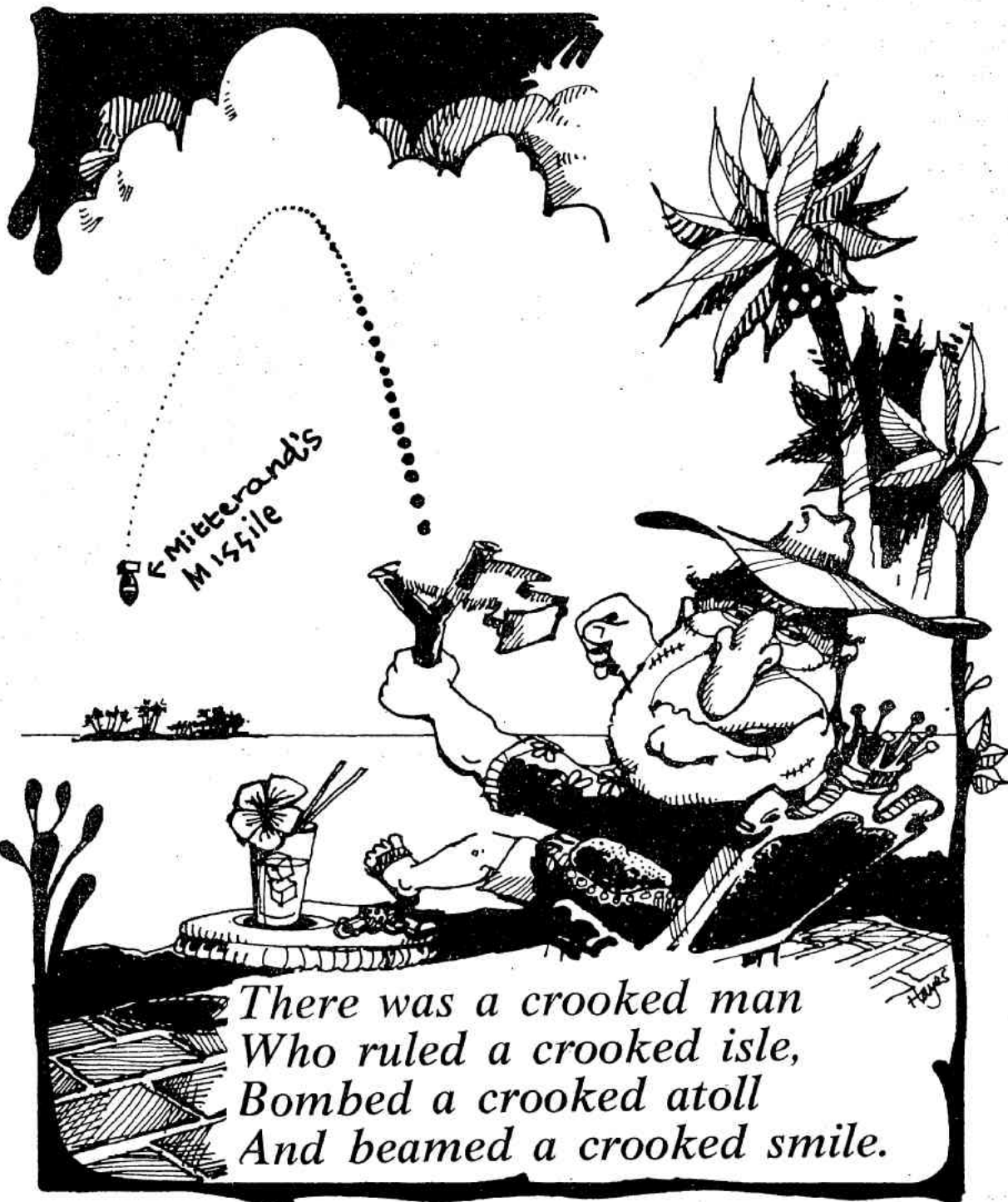
I was happy to learn that Brian Martin and the Canberra Peacemakers share our views about the practicability of Social Defence. They are doing good work in introducing this idea into the political process of the communities of Australia.

So it is not my job to 'export' that idea to Australia.

The Peace Movement needs Australian help

As a member of the European Peace Movement at this moment I feel more like a beggar than someone who could offer something.

a) governmental help



*There was a crooked man
Who ruled a crooked isle,
Bombed a crooked atoll
And beamed a crooked smile.*

SOCIAL ACTION AND THE ACADEMICS

Continued

BY BRIAN MARTIN...

This is the final installment of the article "Social Action and the Academics" of which the first two parts were reproduced in *Woronis* Nos. 4 and 5.

A more usual pattern is for attacks on outspoken academics to come from university staff and officials who subscribe to knowledge frameworks which are selectively useful to business and government interests, as in the case of the Human Sciences Program mentioned earlier. Such attacks may also come from academics with a narrow perspective oriented to local elites and fearful of any disturbances to the local power structure. By contrast, academics who identify with colleagues around the world — so-called cosmopolitan academics — are more likely to be involved in social action and to defend academic freedom locally. Yet even in second-rate universities run by self-glorifying administrators, the existence of a strong insistence on the freedom of academic pursuits is a strong force, and can be interpreted in part as support for the special interests of the IC.*

There is another aspect to the material privileges and control over working conditions enjoyed by academics. Those who fund academia are aware of the potent force university intellectuals can play either in legitimating current social arrangements or in undermining that legitimacy. Provision of high salaries and relative autonomy is one way by which academics can be bought off, and the number of academic dissidents minimised. Elites utilise both the carrot of privilege and the stick of suppression, just as academics can choose either to be servants or critics of power.

Hierarchy and division of labour.

Hierarchies of power and influence are an important feature of academia, though these are not as formalised or rigid as most corporate and government bureaucracies. On top are leading administrators, deans, professors and heads of departments. Below these are the bulk of tenured academic staff. Then come the temporary academic staff, tutors, technical staff and research assistants. Finally there are typists, cleaners and gardeners. These levels are not rigid indicators of power: everyone knows of the influential departmental secretary. Yet it is the prevalence of clear differences in status and power, only partly attributable to ability or performance, that is important. This existence of hierarchy stands in contrast to the ideology of equality in academic discourse, an equality that is in practice quite restricted in its applicability.

Another important feature of academia is a high degree of specialisation. This includes not only the division of knowledge into disciplines, but also the minute division into narrow topics which characterises most research. Specialisation provides the basis for intellectual escapism that draws some people into academia.

Both hierarchy and specialisation help to make academics responsive to powerful outside interest groups. Academic elites, who usually rise to power via conventional narrow research and avoidance of controversy, are the ones who have greatest contact with elites in business and government, via consulting, grants, conferences, clubs and informal ties. The academic elites reinforce their orientation to outside elites by their influence on appointments, promotions, allocation of funds and decisions on courses. Attacks on dissidents are facilitated by the network of elites. One insidious avenue is through spies and informants for intelligence organisations.

Academic specialisation serves the interests of business and government

by encouraging focus on specific practical problems without attention to the social context, and discouraging interdisciplinary interaction which often is essential to addressing social problems. The key division of knowledge in academia is between means and ends. Nuclear physics, econometrics and rat behaviour can be studied without any attention to what groups in society are capable and interested in utilising the knowledge. Academic specialisation discourages the sort of interdisciplinary interaction which addresses the political and social motivations for and consequences of the form and content of knowledge.

Even when academic programmes are set up to study areas of social concern, the results can be severely limited by the structure of academia. For example, the Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies at ANU is based on the use of the separate and narrow knowledge frameworks of neoclassical economics and of systems analysis, on hierarchical relations between staff and on a primary orientation to government. As such, it is inherently unsuited for coming to grips with the roots of resource and environmental problems.(9)

Nevertheless, the extent of hierarchy and specialisation in academia is much less than in most factories or government bureaucracies. One reason for this is the interest of many academics in control over their own work situation, reflecting a general interest in this by the IC. The claims of university autonomy and academic freedom are genuinely pursued to push in the direction of equality in academic discourse, for example in assessing scholarly contributions. In this way academics, including most junior academics, are united in defence of academic prerogatives against blatant outside intervention into academic affairs.

There are limits to the extension of equality in academic matters, and students and non-academic staff are definitely not included. This is reflected in the widespread academic antagonism to equal student participation in departmental decision-making. One reason for the intense and often hostile scrutiny of the Centre for Continuing Education at the ANU is the Centre's commitment — whether or not the reality measures up to it — to democratic participation of all staff in decision-making.

The impact of hierarchy is clearly revealed in the response of university decision-makers to the continuing government squeeze on university finances in Australia since 1976. There has been little attempt on the part of academics to mobilise public support against the cuts. University administrators have reacted to the squeeze by wielding the axe internally, for example cutting untenured posts and chopping small and socially relevant programmes, and generally diverting diminishing funds to the more powerful groups in the university power structure, including the administration. This reduces social activism by academics, esp-

pecially those in vulnerable positions or running vulnerable programmes, who feel obliged to concentrate on mere survival. In short, those most privileged inside academia have strengthened their positions at the expense of the weak. On the other hand, university governing bodies have strongly resisted government moves to directly interfere with the internal decision-making of universities, as in the case of imposing conditions on the use of student fees.

When academics become involved in social action groups, it is quite often in groups which are similarly hierarchical to academia itself, such as political parties. In addition, organisations such as political parties or social welfare bodies are much more an accepted part of society than are feminist, environmental or unemployment action groups. A senior academic in a hierarchical action group often becomes president or some other member of the executive. This may serve their own careers as well as being compatible with their privileged position in academia.

Since members of the IC, both individually and collectively, stand to gain most from an extension of state bureaucracies, academics active in party politics are usually found in social democratic parties such as the Australian Labor Party. An exception to this party orientation may occur at the top levels of older more traditional universities where connections with local elites are longstanding.

Another feature of those social action groups which academics tend to join is an orientation towards influencing decision-makers. For example, the primary focus of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science (SSRS) in Canberra — which was dominated by CSIRO scientists and ANU academics — was on producing expert reports and lobbying government. Many overtly controversial subjects were avoided. Typically, SSRS was formally constituted, organised and run, also, as the dominant members of the organisation grew older and rose higher in professional hierarchies, SSRS gradually became less active. But let it be said that SSRS and other such organisations, while reflecting the social structures of scientific and academic organisations, nevertheless do a lot of valuable work, and are not always inhibited in their methods of action or treatment of controversial issues. Social action contains a dynamic of its own which sometimes can overcome behaviour patterns imbibed in academia.

Status

Academics are a privileged group, and also a high status one. Part of this privilege and status depends on restriction of the supply of academics, and upon keeping scholarly activity a privilege only for those employed to pursue it. Academics, as the trainers and cert-

ifiers of members of the IC, largely support the expansion of higher education, and the production of more graduates for positions in business, government and the professions. This can only increase the prestige of academics themselves. However, it is quite another matter to spread academic skills indiscriminately and so debase the currency of academic privilege. The maintenance of professional control in academia depends on restricting academic positions to those who have been fully socialised by a long apprenticeship and, just as important, keeping academic discourse un sullied by interaction with too many non-scholars. If people found out that almost anyone with a few months training could do just about everything of social significance that an academic can do, this would be devastating for the status of academics.(10)

Within academia, protection of status is an important reason for the development of jargon and antagonism to popularisation, the pursuit of esoteric research, the long and formal course work utilising the 'banking' concept of education, (11) and the orienting of research and social action to decision-makers. Protection of status is also a basic reason for the elitism and arrogance of many academics, and their assumption that the life of the mind is superior to 'public' activity. Among academic radicals, Marxism is popular partly because it puts radical intellectuals in a privileged role. The idea of deprofessionalisation, so popular with the general public through the works of Illich and others, is a non-starter in academia.

Protection of academic status is one of the main reasons for the peer pressure against academics 'going public' on social issues. This can apply to those with right-wing as well as left-wing views. Normally keeping a low profile allows academics to serve vested interests while maintaining the guise of neutrality. But even some of those who resort to the media to support corporate or government patrons — such as some of the vociferous defenders of tobacco or nuclear weapons — are ostracised by academics. Extreme views, obviously presented to serve vested interests, may shatter public illusions about the competence and integrity of academics.(12)

When it comes to social action, the high self-image and elitism of most academics is simply not compatible with participation in egalitarian action groups. Friends of the Earth, Canberra Peacemakers and Community Action on Science and Environment, the action groups in which I have been involved, have each had not formal office bearers, have attempted to share tasks and spread skills, and have aimed at encouraging public involvement in social decision-making rather than appealing to elites. In such groups, academics do not merit a superior role, and indeed often have far more to learn than contribute, since others have greater experience and understanding both of the issues and of political strategy. To add to the embarrassment, these highly knowledgeable activists are often students or dropouts.

In some ways, egalitarian social action groups are a greater long term threat to the privileged members of the IC than elites or powerful working class organisations. The irony is that many of those who join, and become most active in such groups are products of the academic system. While the academics pursue autonomy, academic freedom and control over work conditions for their own self-interest, these action groups are attempting to apply these same ideals to a much broader constituency.



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Responses

Is it worth trying to involve academics in social action at all? After this rather depressing account of the pressures against such involvement, it is tempting to answer no. But this would be overly pessimistic. While academics are inactive compared with students, they are on average more active than some other groups such as corporation executives or soldiers. Furthermore, the ideas of academic freedom and of the worth of social criticism that are cultivated in academia, partly to justify academic privilege, are also powerful tools for encouraging academics to be more socially active.

The problem of social activism by academics is only part of a larger problem of social activism throughout the community towards a society that is more just, free and worth living in. Here only a few implications of the foregoing analysis will be spelled out briefly.

One key point is realising that currently the mainstays of social activism are students and junior staff. They have much more leeway to become involved in social issues. Academics, especially senior ones, who take public stands on social issues are often under a lot of pressure, and can benefit from both moral and practical support. Sometimes there is a support network for radical academics, but even with such a network individuals can easily feel isolated and demoralised. It is worthwhile building or extending such networks to include academics from a range of disciplines and to include sympathetic non-academics. Support networks can take the form of formal groups, informal discussion groups, occasional social events or just keeping in touch. For an academic in a hidebound department, it can be a real morale booster after taking a public stand to receive a token of appreciation from an acquaintance or a stranger.

Support networks become crucial in mounting campaigns against sackings, funding cuts and other attacks against socially active individuals or socially relevant research or teaching programmes. In opposing cuts to the Women's Studies Programme at ANU, staff, students, feminists and other non-academic supporters have combined their efforts to vocally and publicly expose the unfair administrative actions. Such campaigns have a much better chance of success than passively accepting administrative fiat. The more that students and staff do that goes beyond the usually bureaucratic channels, the more likely is success. Bureaucrats just do not know how to respond effectively to petitions, letters to newspapers, television coverage, demonstrations and occupations. In mounting campaigns on academic issues, the incorporation of experience by non-academic activists can be useful, especially in overcoming academic passivity and nit-picking. Broad-based campaigns against suppression and cuts also can radicalise quite a few of those who participate.

A solid basis for such campaigns lies in the principles of academic freedom, social criticism and the pursuit of truth in all its forms. Academic freedom is seldom enough exercised and may be invoked to protect the special interests of academics, but it is nevertheless well worth defending and expanding. Indeed, the concept of academic freedom should be broadened beyond the academic context, and efforts made to protect and ex-

tend the right of free speech without reprisals from employers to apply to government and corporate employees and others.

So much for defending radical academics. What about actually transforming academia? One way by which academic teaching and research can become more relevant is by increased interaction between academics and community activists. Academics can visit — or even participate in — social action groups, to obtain ideas, suggestions, perspectives and support. In the other direction, community activists can make more of an effort to contact academics and suggest relevant research and teaching.

The more difficult problem is institutionalising such interaction. One important model is the science shop, well developed at several Dutch universities. Groups such as trade unions or community welfare, peace or environmental groups can contact the science shop for advice about questions involving expertise in science and technology. The workers at the science shop try to connect the requesting group with scientists willing to work on the problem.⁽¹³⁾ Another example is the Centre for Alternative Industrial and Technological Systems, a research unit set up at North East London Polytechnic to study problems relevant to the alternative corporate plan developed by Lucas Aerospace workers.

What about the structure of the university? Would it be better if tenure were weakened, since tenured staff are so often passive on social issues? Actually, the more probable result of weakening tenure would be an attack on the most vocal tenured academics. The problem is not tenure but the power structure of the university, especially the power of academic elites and administrations. Flattening the academic hierarchy would do more to allow genuine academic freedom than marginal fiddling with tenure, procedures, or staff and student representation on committees. If all high salaries were reduced — for example to the average wage — then staff members could be greatly increased and everyone given tenure. This would free numerous people from publication rat-races, bureaucratic infighting and boot-licking and permit a great deal of innovative

teaching and research. An alternative would be to provide tenure only to those on the lowest salaries, who are the ones who need it most.

The typical strategy by radicals in academia has been to try to get more radicals into positions within the present academic structures, whether this is via promotion of talented radicals to high positions or by increasing staff and student representation on decision-making bodies. The more fundamental strategy of flattening the hierarchy has seldom been adopted. The challenge — as yet largely unmet — is to develop persuasive campaigns with this more fundamental change as a goal.

Some examples for the university can come from the experiences of action groups which try to be non-hierarchical, participative and self-managing. This has been the direction taken by sections of the feminist, environmental, anarchist and nonviolent action movements.⁽¹⁴⁾ Whether such alternatives can have an influence on academic organisations remains to be seen. In any case, they provide a base outside the academic community where intellectual activity and social action can be linked in an ongoing process of building campaigns, undertaking co-operative research and learning, and communicating via journals and newsletters.

An alternative to the university as a place to understand social problems is important, since not much reliance can be put on academic institutions to tackle the roots of these problems. In many cases, environmental studies programmes or peace research institutes only deal with symptoms, due to using inherently limited disciplinary perspectives and organisational structures. These programmes may give activists the illusion that someone is doing something about the problem. More effective lobbying for more peace research is grassroots peace activism linked with self-critical evaluation and study. This provides both an alternative to relying on academia and at the same time strengthens the positions of those academics who do engage in or promote genuinely critical research and teaching. If a participative social movement with a sound set of principles and strategies for social change can be built, then universit-

ies will join the bandwagon sooner or later.

Acknowledgements:

Phil Anderson, Mark Diesendorf, Andrew Hopkins, Ian Hughes, Clyde Manwell, Val Plumwood, Ken Quail, Hugh Saddler, Ian Watson and Ted Wheelwright provided valuable comments in the writing of this article.

Footnotes:

9. Brian Martin, "Academics and the environment: a critique of the Australian National University's Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies", *Ecologist*, volume 7, number 6, July 1977, pages 224-232. See also David W. Livingstone and Richard V. Mason, "Ecological crisis and the autonomy of science in capitalist society: a Canadian case study", *Alternatives*, volume 8, number 1, Winter 1978, pages 3-10, 32.

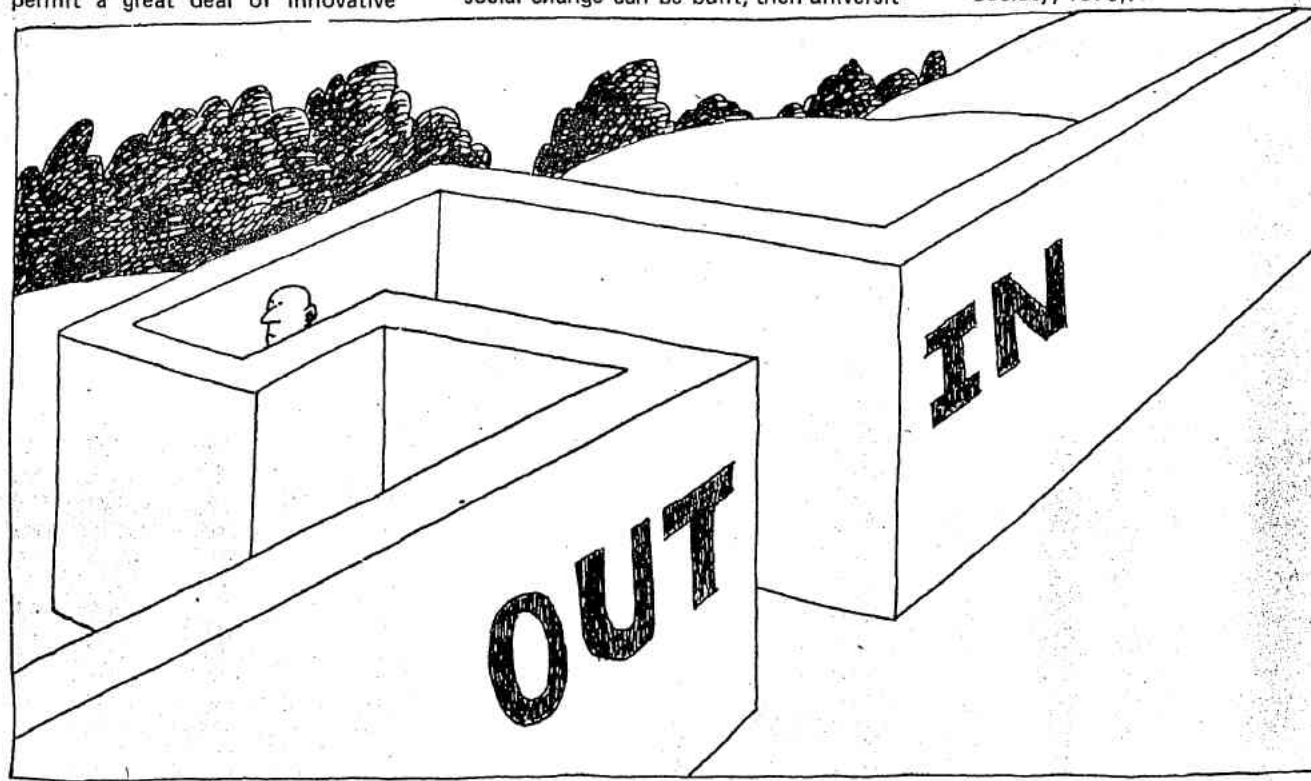
10. See the programme of Gary L. Huber for training people in medical research, described in John Holt, *Freedom and beyond* (Marmondsworth: Penguin, 1973); George Williams, *Some of my best friends are professors: a critical commentary on higher education*. (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1958), page 202: "The fact is that anybody and everybody with a month's training in methods and source materials, with elementary knowledge of almost any subject, and with normal mentality, can do publishable research".

11. On this and much else see Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).

12. For an example, see Brian Martin, "The naked experts", *Ecologist*, Volume 12, number 4, July/August 1982, pages 149-157.

13. Ad Meertens and Onno Nieman, "The Amsterdam science shop: doing science for the people", *Science for the People*, volume 11, number 5 September/October 1979, pages 15-17, 36-37.

14. See for example The Training/Action Affinity Group of Movement for a New Society, *Building social change communities* (Philadelphia: Movement for a New Society, 1979).



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LEFT GROUP
WOR



CLUBS

Clubs and societies affiliated to the Students Association –

- should attend the clubs and societies meeting prior to their planned activity to receive any financial assistance. This includes wine and cheese for general meetings.
- must attend at least two Students' Association meetings per semester.
- should bring evidence of advertising events to clubs & societies committee
- are invited to participate in the Students' Association radio show -- 2XX 6.00 Tuesday. If you would like to advertise activities or discuss club/society events don't hesitate to contact clubs & societies committee.
- are invited to submit articles and information for Woroni.

&

SOCIETIES

BENEFITS OF FORMING A CLUB OR SOCIETY

In order to form a club it is necessary to have 15 students, their student numbers (NOT telephone numbers) and signatures. Affiliation forms are available in the Exec. Office of the Students' Association (wooden pigeon holes on top of grey filing cabinet). The club should also provide details of bank accounts, and a constitution. The affiliation is then approved by the committee and ratified by Student Association Meetings. Affiliation entitles clubs to –

- receive financial aid for worthwhile projects,
- use the university union for functions and events
- use student media for advertising and dissemination of knowledge
- use Student Association facilities for club business.

In 1983 we have 35 affiliated clubs and societies so far. Although the committee budget is tight students can receive subsidies for worthwhile activities e.g. conferences; speakers; film nights; fundraising events and so on. ANU is the only university to fund wine and cheese for clubs/societies. Some of the present committee members feel that this is wasted money and should only be granted in the case of AGM or introductory meetings. It may be that students who intend to drink away any financial allocation, and do not appear to do anything else in meetings may no longer receive funding for the club. It is my belief that there are better projects for student money than alcohol and bikkies.

- VIDEO COLLECTIVE
- POLITICAL ECONOMY
- WOMEN AND MATHS PROGRAMME
- COMMUNIST STUDENT COLLECTIVE
- NATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR REFORM OF MARIJUANA LAWS (ANU ACT)
- FRENCH CLUB
- AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
- ANU DEMOCRATS
- FRISBEE SOCIETY
- STUDENT DISARMAMENT GROUP
- MALINDO SOCIETY
- JAPANESE CLUB
- LIBERAL SOCIETY
- CAMPUS AMATEUR DRAMATIC SOCIETY
- HISTORY STUDENTS CO-OP
- INDONESIAN STUDENTS
- EVANGELICAL UNION
- FINE ART SOCIETY
- GAYS ON CAMPUS
- PART-TIME AND MATURE AGE STUDENTS
- AISEC
- POLITICS SOCIETY
- MOTH AND BUTTERFLY APPRECIATION SOCIETY
- SOCIAIST FILM GROUP
- EPICURIAN SOCIETY
- MUSLIM SOCIETY
- MALAYSIAN STUDENTS
- HONG KONG ASSOCIATION
- FORESTRY STUDENTS
- ECONOMICS SOCIETY
- MERLIN THE MAGIC CAT APPRECIATION SOCIETY
- GERMAN SOCIETY